THE Reader will excuſe the Smalneſs of this Volume, as I have publiſhed it at this Time to ſatisfy the World, as early as I could, that I am determined to purſue the Work I have undertaken. Ample Amends ſhall be made in the next Volume for what is wanting as to Size in this; and the Whole ſhall be compriſed, the Public may depend upon it, in Three Volumes more. I need not inform the World why the Publication of this Volume has been ſo long delayed.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES,

FROM THE

Foundation of the SEE of *ROME*,

TO THE

PRESENT TIME.

VOL. IV.

By ARCHIBALD BOWER, *Esq*;

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VOL. IV.

POPE'S

OF THE

HISTORY

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES, OR BISHOPS of *ROME*.

CONSTANTINE, LEO,

PAUL,

DESIDERIUS, *King of the* Lombards.

Ninety-second BISHOP *of* Rome.

STEPHEN dying, the People were divided in the Election of his Succeſſor, ſome declaring for the Deacon *Paul*, Brother to the late Pope, and ſome for the Archdeacon *Theophylactus*. This Diviſion occaſioned a Vacancy of one Month and five Days. But the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Magiſtrates, all warmly promoting the Intereſt of *Paul*, his Party prevailed in the End[a]. And this is the only Inſtance, that occurs in the whole Hiſtory of the Popes, of two Brothers ſucceſſively raiſed to the Papal Chair.

Year of Chriſt 757. Paul *choſen*.

The new Pope, ſenſible that unleſs *Pepin*, who of a Biſhop had made him a Prince, maintained him in that Rank, he would ſoon from a Prince be degraded again into a Biſhop, did not wait till he was ordained to engage his Protection; but quite unmindful of the

Courts the Favour of Pepin,

[a] Anaſt. in Paulo.

Year of Christ 757. Affairs of the Church, and only concerned to enſure his temporal Dominions, he diſpatched a Meſſenger into *France*, the Moment he was choſen, with a Letter to the King to acquaint him with his Promotion, and earneſtly entreat him, as he expected that his Sins ſhould be forgiven him, not to ſuffer his Zeal for the Safety and Welfare of the Church and the Flock of St. *Peter* ever to cool, ſince that Apoſtle had diſtinguiſhed him above all the Princes of the Earth in chuſing him for their only Protector after God and himſelf[b]. The Pope wrote at the ſame Time to the *French* in general, to thank them for the Zeal they had ſo meritoriouſly exerted in the Cauſe of the Apoſtolic Church of St. *Peter*, and aſſure them of the Protection and Favour of the Prince of the Apoſtles ſo long as they continued to protect and to favour his Church and his People[c] (A).

And of the French *Nation.*

Pepin *aſſures him of his Protection.*

Pepin in his Anſwer congratulated the Pope on his Promotion with the warmeſt Expreſſions of Friendſhip and Kindneſs, exhorted the *Roman* Senate and People to continue ſtedfaſt in their Obedience and Submiſſion to St. *Peter* and his Vicar, and aſſured them, that nothing was capable of leſſening his Zeal for their Proſperity and Welfare, or ſhaking the Reſolution he had taken of maintaining St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors in the full Poſſeſſion and quiet Enjoyment of what he had given them, and employing for that Purpoſe, if neceſſary, the whole Strength of his Kingdom[d].

He complains to Pepin *of the King of the* Lombards.

As the Treaty of *Pavia* was not fully executed at the Death of *Aiſtulphus*, the next Care of the Pope was to have ſuch Places delivered up to him as had been yielded to his Predeceſſor by that Treaty, but were ſtill kept under various Pretences by the *Lombards*. *Deſiderius*, Duke or Governor of *Tuſcany*, had been raiſed to the Throne in the Room of *Aiſtulphus*; and he owed his Crown chiefly to the Intereſt and the Intrigues of Pope *Stephen*, who had not only himſelf declared, but had prevailed upon *Pepin* to declare in his Favour, and diverted by that Means the *Lombards*, unwilling to quarrel, at ſo critical a Juncture, with the *French*, from chuſing the Monk *Rachis*,

[b] Cod. Carolin. Ep. 13. [c] Cod. Carol. Ep. 26. [d] Ibid.

(A) The Direction of the Letter was, *To* Pepin *of* France, *our moſt excellent Son, and* Roman *Patrician*, Paul *the Deacon, and in the Name of God the Elect of the Holy Apoſtolic See* (1). For the Perſon elected was not ſtiled Pope, as has been obſerved elſewhere (2); but only *the Elect*, during the Interval between his Election, and his Ordination.

(1) Cod. Carolin. Ep. 13. (2) See Vol. 3. p. 24. Note M.

whom,

whom, tired of a monaſtic Life, the far greater Part of the Nation were for placing again on the Throne. But it was upon Condition that *Deſiderius* ſhould, if he ſucceeded, execute, without Delay, the Treaty of *Pavia* in its full Extent, and beſides yield to St. *Peter* certain Cities, Territories, and Strongholds, not contained in that Treaty, that *Stephen* had eſpouſed his Cauſe, and perſuaded his Friend *Pepin* to eſpouſe it. For no ſooner were the Popes poſſeſſed of temporal Dominions, than, giving way to their Ambition, they began, like the other Princes of this World, to contrive all poſſible Means of extending them. To thoſe Conditions *Deſiderius* had agreed; but as he had not yet comply'd with them, *Paul* took care, as ſoon as he was ordained, to put him in mind of his Agreement, and challenge the Performance of it. *Deſiderius* pretended to have nothing ſo much at Heart, as to ſatisfy the Pope; but alleging, that the Affairs of his new Kingdom engroſſed all his Attention, he begged his Holineſs to excuſe his not complying, till they were ſettled, with his Demands. Of this Delay the Pope complained, in a long Letter to *Pepin*. And truly he ſeems to have been entirely taken up, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, in writing Letters to *Pepin*, to his two Sons, to the *French* in general, filled with Complaints, either againſt the King of the *Lombards*, or the Emperor; and in ſtriving, by frequent Legations, as well as by Letters, to keep the *French*, the *Greeks*, and the *Lombards*, ever at Variance. In moſt of his Letters he paints the Emperor as a profeſſed Heretic, as a Perſecutor of the Orthodox, as a faithleſs Tyrant; as one, with whom no Chriſtian Prince could live in Friendſhip and Amity, without renouncing the Chriſtian Religion. Of theſe Letters, no fewer than Thirty-one have reached our Times (B), all calculated to keep *Pepin* ſteady in his Attachment to St. *Peter* and his See, and to pre-

Year of Chriſt 757.

Strives to keep the French, *the* Greeks, *and the* Lombards, *at Variance.*

(B) *James Grezer* publiſhed at *Ingolſtat*, in 1613, the Letters which the Popes *Gregory* III. *Zachary*, *Stephen* II. *Paul*, *Stephen* III. and the Antipope *Conſtantine*, had written to *Charles Martel*, to *Pepin*, to *Charlemagne*, and to his Brother *Carloman*. Theſe original Letters, in all 99, were collected into one Volume by *Charlemagne* himſelf: But as ſome of them were greatly damaged, and in ſeveral Places hardly legible, he cauſed them to be tranſcribed in 792, as appears from the Inſcription that was prefixed to them by the Perſon whom he employ'd on that Occaſion. That Copy is ſtill preſerved in the Emperor's Library, as *Lambecius* informs us (1); who adds, that the Tranſcriber, who copied them for *Grezer*, took too much Liberty in altering ſeveral Paſſages, under Colour of correcting them. This Collection is commonly known by the Name of the *Caroline Code*, being ſo called from *Charles*, who firſt collected the Letters it contains.

(1) Lamb. Biblioth. Cæſar. l. 2. c. 5.

Year of Christ 757.

judice him againſt the *Greeks* and the *Lombards*, as the ſworn Enemies of both.

The Greeks *and* Lombards *complain, in their Turn, to* Pepin, *of the Pope.*

On the other hand, the Emperor and the King of the *Lombards* left nothing unattempted to gain *Pepin*, and perſuade him to abandon the Protection of the Pope; repreſenting him not only as a Rebel to his liege Lord, and an Uſurper, but as a public Incendiary; who, inſtead of ſtriving to unite the Chriſtian Princes among themſelves againſt the *Saracens*, their common Enemy, made it his Study to ſow and foment Diviſions among them; and that with no other View, but to aggrandize himſelf at their Expence, or rather at the Expence of the Chriſtian Religion; ſince the *Saracens*, taking Advantage of their Diviſions, had already extended, and continued daily to extend, their Conqueſts both in the Eaſt and the Weſt, and with their Conqueſts their deteſtable Superſtition. The Emperor urged, in particular, his unqueſtionable Right to the *Exarchate* and the *Pentapolis*, which, he ſaid, had been unjuſtly ſeized by the *Lombards*, and therefore ought, in Juſtice, to have been reſtored to him, agreeably to the known and never-yet-diſputed Maxim, That whatever is taken from an unlawful Poſſeſſor, ought to be reſtored to the lawful Owner. But the Remonſtrances of the Emperor proved all ineffectual, *Pepin* returning no other Anſwer to them, but that he had taken thoſe Provinces from the *Lombards*, and not from him; that

But in vain.

they were his by Right of Conqueſt, and that being, conſequently, free to diſpoſe of them to whom he pleaſed, he had thought fit to give them, for the Good of his Soul, to be for ever poſſeſſed by St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors, and could not, without being guilty of a Sacrilege, revoke that Donation[e].

The Emperor ſends a ſolemn Embaſſy into France, Year of Chriſt 764.

The Emperor, however, did not yet deſpair of being able to gain *Pepin*, and prevail upon him to abandon the Pope, and enter into an Alliance with the Empire. With that View he ſent, in 764, a moſt ſolemn Embaſſy into *France*; the moſt ſolemn, that had yet been ſeen in that Kingdom. It conſiſted of ſix Patricians, of ſeveral Biſhops, and a great Number of other Eccleſiaſtics, all Men eminent for their Piety and Learning, as well as for their Addreſs in Negotiations, and Skill in Affairs of State. They brought with them moſt magnificent Preſents for *Pepin* and the chief Lords of his Court; among the reſt, an Organ, an Inſtrument till then never ſeen in *France*. Their Commiſſion was, to propoſe a Marriage between

[e] Cod. Carol. Ep. 14, 17, 24.

Leo, the Emperor's Son, born in 750; and *Geſil*, *Pepin*'s Daughter, born in 757; *Conſtantine* flattering himſelf, that *Pepin* might be brought, by ſuch an Alliance, to hearken to his juſt Remonſtrances; and either reſtore to him the Provinces he claimed, or ſuffer him, at leaſt, to recover them. He well knew, that the Pope, to prejudice the Weſtern Princes, eſpecially *Pepin* and his two Sons, againſt him, had, on account of his Averſion to Images, repreſented him to them as a profeſſed Heretic, as a declared Enemy of the Church, as a *Jew* or a *Mahometan*, rather than a Chriſtian; and it was to remove theſe Prejudices, and ſatisfy the *French* Nation, that it was no Hereſy to forbid the Worſhip of Images; but, on the contrary, Idolatry to worſhip them, that he appointed ſo many learned Eccleſiaſtics to attend his Embaſſadors, on this Occaſion, into *France*. *Pepin* granted them an Audience ſoon after their Arrival, received them with great Politeneſs, and ſeemed highly pleaſed with their Preſents. But as to the Marriage between his Daughter and the young Emperor *Leo*, he told them, when they propoſed it, that he ſhould be proud of ſuch an Alliance, were their Maſter a Catholic Prince; but being, as he was informed, a Heretic, a Perſecutor of the Church, an Enemy to the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints, who reigned with her in Heaven, to contract an Alliance with him, would be countenancing the Hereſy, which he profeſſed, and renouncing the Faith which the *French* Nation thought it their greateſt Glory to defend and maintain.

Year of Chriſt 764.

Propoſes a Match between his Son and Pepin's *Daughter.*

The Propoſal rejected, and why.

This was no more than what the Embaſſadors expected; and therefore they readily reply'd, that their Maſter was neither a Heretic, nor an Abettor of Heretics; that he received the ſix General Councils, held the Doctrine which they had defined, and condemned all the Heretics and Hereſies which they had condemned; that, treading in the Footſteps of his Father of glorious Memory, and animated, as well as he, with a true Zeal for the Purity of the Chriſtian Religion, he had indeed proſcribed the Worſhip of Images, and obliged all his loving Subjects to worſhip God alone, and to worſhip him in Spirit and in Truth; that he had therein entirely conformed to the Doctrine of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, as well as to the Practice of the primitive Chriſtians and the Fathers, who had all abhorred, as might be eaſily made to appear from their Writings, not only the Worſhip, but even the Uſe of Images in the Places of their Worſhip; that the Worſhip, which their Maſter, as Guardian of the Church, had undertaken to aboliſh, was an Innovation, an Abuſe of a very

The Embaſſadors undertake to ſhew that their Maſter was no Heretic.

Year of Christ 764.

a very late Date; that it had been zealously opposed by the greatest Men, as well as the greatest Saints in the Church, and had been condemned, but ten Years since, by the most numerous Council that had ever been convened. They added, that the *French* Nation, and the Princes in the West, were quite misinformed, and most grosly imposed upon with respect to the State of Religion in the East; that the Popes, prompted by their boundless Ambition, wanted only a Pretence to shake off the Yoke, and seize on the Dominions of their liege Lords the Emperors; and that it was only to disguise their Treason and Rebellion, that they had charged them, and the *Greeks* in general, with Heresy: But if the most Christian King would allow the Points in Dispute to be candidly examined in his Presence by the *French* Bishops, and the Ecclesiastics, whom the Emperor had sent, for that Purpose, from *Constantinople*, (a Favour which they earnestly entreated him to grant them) they would leave him to judge, and stand to his Judgment, whether the Emperors were justly or unjustly traduced by the Popes and their Emissaries as Heretics[f].

A great Council assembled at Gentilli *about Images.*

Pepin had hitherto entirely acquiesced in the Judgment of the Pope, taking it upon his Word, that the Emperor and the *Greeks* were all Heretics. But tempted by the favourable Opportunity, that now offered, and extreamly desirous to know what might be said on either Side in a Dispute that had made, and continued to make, so great a Noise in the Church, he resolved to comply with the Request of the Embassadors, and for once take the Liberty of judging for himself. He issued, accordingly, an Order, enjoining all the Bishops in his Dominions to meet, after *Easter*, at *Gentilli*, a royal Villa about a League from *Paris*, where he frequently resided. The Bishops met at the Place and Time appointed; and it proved the most solemn and numerous Assembly that had ever yet met in *France*. It consisted of all the Bishops of that Kingdom and those of *Germany* too, who were subject to the Crown of *France*; and there were present, besides the six Embassadors from the Emperor with the Bishops and other Ecclesiastics, who attended them, two Legates sent from *Rome* to represent the Pope, a great Number of other Ecclesiastics, and *Pepin* assisted in Person, attended by the chief Nobility, and all the great Officers of State. In that great Council (for so it is called in the Annals of *France*) two Points were proposed and debated;

[f] Annal. Franc. Bert. ad ann. 767. Eginhard, in Chron. Ado Vienn. Rhegin. Aimoin, l. 4. c. 37.

viz.

viz. *Whether it was lawful to worſhip Images, or ſet them up in the Places of Worſhip*; and *whether the Holy Ghoſt proceeded only from the Father, or from the Father and the Son*; the *Greeks* charging the *Latins* with having added to the *Nicene* Creed the Words, *and from the Son*; and the *Latins* reproaching the *Greeks*, in their Turn, with having eraſed them[g]. Year of Chriſt 764.

What was the Iſſue of this Council, what the Deciſion concerning either of theſe Points, Hiſtory does not inform us: And hence ſome have concluded, that they came to no Determination; as if ſo many Biſhops aſſembled on purpoſe to decide a Queſtion, and a Queſtion, ſo far as it concerned the Worſhip of Images, of the utmoſt Importance, would have left it quite undecided. Indeed no Councils, we know of, have been thus backward; but, on the contrary, moſt of them too forward to decide and define, and even to damn all who did not acquieſce in their Definitions and Deciſions. The Jeſuit *Maimburg* takes it for granted, and roundly aſſerts, as a Thing not at all to be doubted, that the *Gallican* Biſhops condemned, and condemned with one Voice, both the Errors of the *Greeks*, eſpecially that concerning the Uſe and the Worſhip of Images. To make good his Aſſertion, he tells us, that twelve of the moſt learned Biſhops of *France*, ſent to repreſent the *Gallican* Church in a Council held two Years after at *Rome*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves, above all the reſt, by their Zeal in the Defence and in Favour of Images. He adds, that as no Man can doubt but thoſe Biſhops acted agreeably to the Sentiments of their Fellow-Biſhops, and the Council, that had been held on the ſame Subject in *France*, no Man can doubt but the Uſe and Worſhip of Images were approved by that Council, and the oppoſite Doctrine condemned as heretical[h]. But I ſhould be glad to know who informed *Maimburg* that the twelve *Gallican* Biſhops diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Zeal in the Defence of Images? *Anaſtaſius*, who wrote in the next Century, and has given us the moſt particular Account we have of the Council held at *Rome*, and has been copied by *Maimburg*, and almoſt all who ſpeak of that Council, tells us, indeed, that twelve of the moſt learned Biſhops of *France* were ſent to *Rome* by *Charles*, or *Charlemagne*, to aſſiſt at it; but takes not the leaſt Notice of their boaſted Zeal in the Defence of Images[i]. One of them, by Name *Herulphus*, ſpoke, it is *The Worſhip of Images was not approved by that Council.*

[g] Idem ibid. [h] Maimb. Hiſt. Iconoclaſt. l. 2. p. 228. [i] Anaſt. in Steph. III.

Year of Christ 764.

true, if Pope *Adrian* is to be credited [k] without any Warrant from the contemporary Historians, for the Worship of Images; and that one *Maimburg* has taken the Liberty to multiply into twelve, arguing thus: One of the twelve *Gallican* Bishops spoke in the Council of *Rome* for the Worship of Images, therefore they all spoke for that Worship, and all distinguished themselves by their Zeal in maintaining it: No Man can doubt but they acted therein agreeably to the Sentiments of their Fellow-Bishops, and the Council that had been held in *France* but two Years before on the same Subject; therefore no Man can doubt but the Worship of Images was approved by that Council, and the opposite Doctrine condemned as heretical.

But condemned, and the Use of Images approved.

F. *Sirmond*, a Writer well known for his uncommon Erudition and Learning, and, tho' a Jesuit, not void of all Candor, ingenuously owns that in the Council of *Gentilli* the Worship of Images was condemned, tho' the Use was approved. *In the Council of* Gentilli, says he, *the* Gallican *Bishops decreed against the* Greek *Iconoclasts, that Images should be retained only as Helps to Memory, or for the Sake of Instruction, but should not be worshiped, for that they absolutely rejected* [l]: And *Sirmond* is extolled by *Maimburg* himself, as better acquainted than any other Writer whatever with the ancient Discipline and Faith of the *Gallican* Church. That this was the Doctrine of that Church in the latter End of the present and the Beginning of the following Century, is manifest, from the Decrees of two other Councils; the Council of *Franckfort*, in 794, at which some Bishops might have assisted, who were present at that of *Gentilli*; and the Council of *Paris*, in 824. For in both these Councils, consisting chiefly of *Gallican* Bishops, it was decreed, as shall be shewn in the Sequel, that Images should be retained *only* as Helps to Memory, as Books for the Ignorant, as Ornaments; but that no kind of Worship should be given them. We must therefore either suppose the *Gallican* Bishops and Church to have entirely changed, in the Space of 30 Years, their Faith and their Doctrine, or to have defined at *Gentilli*, in 764, what they defined in 794, that is, 30 Years after, at *Franckfort*; viz. that *Images were not to be broken, nor were they to be worshiped*; the very Doctrine of Pope *Gregory the Great* [m]. And here it is to be observed, that the Council of *Constantinople* did not condemn the Use of Images, in the

[k] Adrian. in ep. ad Carol.
[l] Sirmond. Concil. Gallican. tom. II. p. 192.
[m] See vol. 3. p. 233, & seq.

Places

Places of Worſhip, as Evil in itſelf, but only as dangerous, as expoſing thoſe, who pray'd before them, eſpecially the Ignorant, to the Danger of praying to them; and it was not as we have ſeen[n], till *Leo*, the firſt Iconoclaſt Emperor, found by Experience, that the Uſe of Images could not be allowed, and the Worſhip prevented, that he ordered them to be caſt out of the Churches, and broken. Year of Chriſt 764.

And now the only Objection againſt the propoſed Marriage, *viz.* that the Emperor was a Heretic, being thus removed, and *Pepin* ſatisfy'd that the *Greeks* were no Enemies to the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints, tho' they did not worſhip their Images, but broke them to prevent their being worſhipped, the Embaſſadors renewed the Propoſal, urging the great Advantages, that would accrue to the Chriſtian Religion from an Union between the two chief Chriſtian Powers, at a Time when the common Enemy, availing himſelf of their Diviſions, aimed at nothing leſs than its utter Deſtruction. But *Pepin*, unwilling to diſoblige the Pope, who he knew would be no leſs diſpleaſed than alarmed at an Alliance between *France* and the Empire, how advantageous ſoever it might prove to the Chriſtian Religion, kept ſtill to his former Reſolution, nor could the Embaſſadors, tho' ſeconded by ſome of his Court, prevail upon him, by any means, to alter it. He ſent however, in his Turn, a ſolemn Embaſſy into the Eaſt with Letters in Anſwer to thoſe which the Imperial Embaſſadors had brought him from the Emperor: But leſt he ſhould thereby give Umbrage to the Pope jealous of the leaſt Appearance of a good Underſtanding between him and the Emperor, he took Care to tranſmit Copies of all theſe Letters to his Holineſs, who highly pleaſed with his Conduct, diſpatched, as ſoon as he received them, a Nuncio extraordinary into *France*, to thank the King for his inviolable Attachment to the Apoſtolic See, and aſſure him of the Favour and Protection of St. *Peter*, whoſe Honour and Intereſt he had ſo much at Heart[o]. Pepin *ſatisfied that the* Greeks *were no Heretics.* *But unwilling to diſoblige the Pope, rejects the propoſed Alliance with the Emperor.*

Theſe are the only Events, I find recorded in the Pontificate of *Paul* worthy of Notice, tho' he preſided in the *Roman* Church ten Years, and one Month. For he was ordained on the 29th of *May* 757, and died on the 28th of *June* 767. He was buried in the Church of St. *Paul*, where no Pope had been buried before: But his Remains were three Months after, tranſlated to the *Vatican*, and Paul *dies.* Year of Chriſt 767.

[n] See vol. 3. p. 261.

[o] Cod. Carolin. ep. 20.

Year of Christ 767.

deposited in an Oratory, which he had built there in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*[p]. He has been allowed a Place in the Kalendar, and is now worshipped, on the 28th of *June* as a Saint, but for what extraordinary Merit History does not inform us, nor even the Legends, unless it were for his uncommon Address in courting the Favour of *Pepin*, in flattering him, for all his Letters to that Prince are filled with the most fulsome Flattery; and keeping him, by that means, steadily attached, and entirely devoted to his See. In his Time was discovered at *Rome* an invaluable Treasure, the Body of St. *Petronilla*, St. *Peter*'s Daughter; and the Pope, transported with Joy at such a Discovery, caused it to be translated from the Cemetery, where it was found, to the *Vatican*. She died at *Rome*, during the Pontificate of her Father.

In his Time an invaluable Treasure discovered in Rome.

In the East the Monks refuse to comply with the Definition of the Council of Constantinople *against Images.*

Of this Pope many Letters have reached our Times, but all concerning temporal Affairs, which he was too much taken up with to attend to the Affairs of Religion, or to think of affording any Comfort or Relief to his Friends in the East, tho' treated by the Emperor and his Officers with the utmost Severity. It had been but very lately defined, as we have seen [q], and defined in a Council consisting of no fewer than 338 Bishops, that to worship Images, or any other Creature, was robbing God of the Honour that was due to him alone, and relapsing into Idolatry; and by the same Council they, who should thenceforth presume to set up Images in the Churches, or in private Houses, or to conceal them, had been anathematized, and declared guilty of a Breach of God's express Command, and the Imperial Laws. To the Definition and Decrees of so great and so numerous a Council, all, or almost all, but the Monks, readily submitted; and it was universally received in the East as the seventh Oecumenical or General Council. But the Monks, not satisfy'd with rejecting it, and stigmatizing the Prelates, who composed it, with the opprobrious Names of Heretics, Apostates, *Jews*, *Mahometans*, still retained their Images, continued to expose them to public Adoration, and even paid them, as it were in Defiance of the Council and the Imperial Laws, extraordinary Honours; nay, quitting their Solitudes, and repairing, in great Numbers, to the Cities, they strove to maintain, by stirring up the Populace to Sedition and Rebellion, in spite of the Emperor, the condemned Superstition. Of this the Bishops complained to the Governors of the Provinces, and they to the Em-

[p] Anast. Mart. Pol. Luitpr. &c.

[q] See vol. 3. p. 364.

peror,

peror, who thereupon ſtrictly enjoined them to cauſe the Decrees of the Council to be punctually comply'd with in their reſpective Governments, and the Laws to be executed, with the utmoſt Severity, againſt the Worſhipers of Images, which his moſt religious Predeceſſors had iſſued againſt the Worſhipers of Idols. Purſuant to this Order, the Monaſteries were every-where ſtripped by the Imperial Officers of all their Images; and the Monks, who offered to defend them, dragged to Priſon, publickly whipped, and ſent into Exile. Several Monaſteries were pulled down, or ſet on Fire, and the Monks, who had the good Luck to make their Eſcape, obliged to ſeek for Shelter in the Deſarts, againſt the Fury of the incenſed Soldiery. *Draco*, or, as ſome call him, *Laconodraco*, Governor of *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Caria*, and *Myſia*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf, on this Occaſion, above all the reſt: For finding he could not, by fair Means, prevail upon the Monks, who were very numerous in thoſe Provinces, to part with their Images, nor even reſtrain them from ſeducing the ignorant Multitude, and raiſing Diſturbances among the Populace, he reſolved to extirpate the whole Race. Having accordingly ſurrounded, with the Troops under his Command, one of their chief Monaſteries, he ſeized all the Monks, cut off their Noſes, ſhut up 38 of them in a Bath, where they were all ſtifled, and ſent the reſt into Exile. He ſecured, in like manner, all the Monks of the other Monaſteries within his Government, who had not made their Eſcape, as well as the Nuns; and carrying them, ſurrounded by his Troops, into a ſpacious Field, he put it to their choice, either to quit their Profeſſion and marry, each Monk a Nun, or to have their Eyes put out, and be confined to the moſt inhoſpitable Places in the Empire. Moſt of them choſe to quit their Profeſſion, and to marry; and thoſe, who did not, met with no Mercy. *Draco*, having thus quite cleared his Government of Monks and Nuns, burnt all their Images, gave up their Monaſteries to be plundered by the Soldiery, and then levelled them with the Ground[r]. The other Governors, leſs Strangers to Compaſſion and Mercy than *Draco*, contented themſelves with confining in the public Gaols, with Whipping and ſending into Exile, ſuch of thoſe unhappy Wretches as obſtinately refuſed to ſubmit, or encouraged others not to ſubmit to the Definition and Decrees of the Council.

Year of Chriſt 767.

Treated with great Severity by the Governors of the Provinces,

[r] Theoph. ad ann. Conſt. 20. Cedren. ibid.

Year of Christ 767. *and baniſhed* Conſtantinople.

They met with no better Treatment in *Conſtantinople* than they did in the Provinces; for the moſt mad Enthuſiaſts among them, reſorting to the Metropolis to keep the People there ſteady in what they call'd the Catholic Faith, rais'd daily ſuch Diſturbances in every Quarter of the City, that the Emperor, apprehending a general Revolt, was obliged, in the End, to iſſue an Edict, commanding all Monks to quit their whimſical Habit, and renounce their idle Profeſſion, or depart the City in the Term of three Days, on Pain of being treated as Diſturbers of the public Peace, as Rebels, as Enemies both to the State and the Church. In Compliance with that Edict, many, fearing God, ſays *Theophanes*, leſs than the Emperor, quitted their holy Habit, renounced their Profeſſion, and of Monks becoming Huſbands, had even the Aſſurance to appear, O ſhocking Sight! leading their Brides in the public Streets of *Conſtantinople*. Others, withdrawing from the City, retir'd to the Deſarts, where, none being allowed to relieve them, they periſhed with Hunger, and the Hardſhips they ſuffered. But ſome, more zealous than the reſt, continued at *Conſtantinople*, in open Defiance of the Imperial Edict, and concealing themſelves in the Day-time, but skulking about from Houſe to Houſe in the Night, ſtill kept up the Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion in the People. Two of them, *Andrew* and *Stephen*, who are now both honoured as Martyrs and Saints of the firſt Rate, had even the Boldneſs to appear in publick, nay, and to inſult the Emperor in Perſon; the one calling him another *Julian*, a *Valens*, an Apoſtate, a Perſecutor of Chriſt and the Saints in their Images; and the other treading under Foot, in his Preſence, a Coin with his Image, and telling him, that as it was no Crime, according to him, to break the Images of Chriſt and his Saints, it could be no Crime to inſult, abuſe, and tread under Foot, his, nor ought he to take it amiſs, or reſent it. No wonder, therefore, that *Conſtantine*, thus provoked, ſhould have proceeded againſt them, as he is ſaid to have done, with the utmoſt Severity; cauſing all, who fell into his Hands, to be either publicly executed, or ſeverely whipped, deprived of their Sight, a Puniſhment common in the Eaſt, and ſent into Exile. As for *Andrew* and *Stephen*, the one was whipped to Death by the Emperor's Guards; and the other dragged by them through the Streets, and torn in Pieces[s]. From theſe Executions the Jeſuit *Maimburg* takes Occaſion to paint *Conſtantine* as a *Nero*, as a *Diocleſian*, as one of

Some of them quit their Profeſſion.

Their inſolent Behaviour to the Emperor.

Puniſhed with great Severity.

[s] Theoph. ad ann. Conſt. 25.

the

the most cruel and mercileſs Tyrants that ever ſway'd a ſceptre. But his Severity to the rebellious Monks did not, perhaps, exceed that of *Lewis* XIV. to his Proteſtant Subjects, tho' guilty of no Rebellion, or Treaſon: And yet *Maimburg*, far from thinking his grand Monarch a *Nero*, a *Diocleſian*, a Tyrant, for thus perſecuting his innocent Subjects, commends and extols him as thereby well deſerving the Title he bore of the *Moſt Chriſtian King* [t]. If it was Tyranny in *Conſtantine* to puniſh, with ſo much Severity, thoſe who worſhipped Images; it was Tyranny in *Lewis* to puniſh, with the like Severity, thoſe who refuſed to worſhip them: If it was no Tyranny in the one, it could be none in the other. In ſhort, both were Tyrants, which *Maimburg* will not allow, or neither. Year of Chriſt 767.

The Menology of the *Greeks*, and the *Roman* Martyrology, are filled with the Names of Monks, who are ſaid to have ſuffered Martyrdom, under *Copronymus*, in the Defence of Images; but it was not, in Truth, for their Opinion they ſuffered, but for the Diſturbances and Tumults they every-where raiſed; inſomuch, that had not the Emperor proceeded againſt them with the utmoſt Severity, and quite cleared the Empire of thoſe Incendiaries, as he is ſaid to have done, he would have probably ſeen, as they were very numerous, and had a great Aſcendant over the Multitude, a Civil War kindled, by their Means, in the Bowels of the Empire, and a favourable Opportunity given to the *Saracens* of ſeizing anew the Provinces which he had lately recovered, and carrying on their Conqueſts to the very Gates of *Conſtantinople*. The Monkiſh Order being thus entirely ſuppreſſed in all the Provinces ſubject to the Empire in the Eaſt, and the Monaſteries either converted to better Uſes, or levelled with the Ground, the Decrees of the Council of *Conſtantinople* were quietly comply'd with by all Ranks of People, the Uſe of Images was everywhere aboliſhed, as well as the Worſhip; and *Conſtantine* had, in the End, the Satisfaction he had ſo long wiſhed for of ſeeing the Chriſtian Worſhip reſtored, throughout his Dominions, to its primitive Purity. During this cruel Perſecution, as it is called by the *Byzantine* Hiſtorians, the Pope, tho' well acquainted with the Sufferings of his Friends and Emiſſaries the Monks, never once offered to interpoſe in their Favour, nor ſo much as to encourage or to comfort them in

No Martyrs, tho' honoured as ſuch.

The Monkiſh Order ſuppreſſed in the Eaſt, and the Worſhip of Images aboliſhed.

[t] Maimb. Hiſt. du Calviniſ. ep. Dedicat.

their

Year of Christ 767.

their Diſtreſs by his Letters, his Attention being wholly engroſſed by Affairs of a very different Nature, the ſecuring of his new Principality againſt the Attempts of the *Greeks* and the *Lombards*.

CONSTANTINE, LEO,

STEPHEN III.

DESIDERIUS, *King of the* Lombards.

Ninety-third BISHOP *of* Rome.

Schiſm in the Roman *Church.*

THE Death of *Paul* occaſioned great Diſturbances and Confuſion in *Rome*. For *Toto*, Duke of *Nepi*, a ſmall City in the preſent Patrimony of St. *Peter*, reſolved to raiſe one of his Family to the Papal Chair; and coming to *Rome* with that View, while the Pope lay at the Point of Death, attended by his three Brothers, and a great Number of his Friends and his Vaſſals, all well armed, cauſed, the Moment *Paul* expired, his Brother *Conſtantine* to be proclaimed by them Pope in his Room; and carrying him in Triumph, without Loſs of Time, to the *Lateran* Palace, oblig'd *George*, Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*, by threatening him with preſent Death, to initiate him, as he was yet a Layman, with the uſual Ceremonies among the Clergy. The next Day he was, by the ſame Biſhop, ordained Subdeacon and Deacon; and the *Sunday* after, by him and the two Biſhops of *Porto* and *Albano*, conſecrated Biſhop[u] (C).

Conſtantine, *yet a Layman raiſed by his Party to the See.*

Strives to gain Pepin.

Conſtantine well knew, that the moſt effectual, nay, and only Means of maintaining himſelf in the Station to which he had been thus raiſed, in open Defiance of all the Laws and Canons of the Church, was to engage the *French* Nation in his Cauſe, and get himſelf acknowleged by them for lawful Pope. He therefore took care, as ſoon as he was ordained, to write to *Pepin*, to acquaint him with his Promotion, to aſſure him of his inviolable Attachment to him and his Family, and earneſtly entreat him, as he hoped to be

[u] Anaſt. in Steph. III.

(C) It was not then thought neceſſary, as we may obſerve here by the way, that a Man ſhould be ordained Prieſt in order to be made a Biſhop: For Deacons were as commonly raiſed to the epiſcopal Dignity as Preſbyters; and in the ancient *Ordo Romanus* the ſame Ceremony is preſcribed for the Ordination of the one and the other (1). *Conſtantine* was, according to the Account of *Anaſtaſius*, of a Deacon made Biſhop; and it is not to be doubted but he would have been firſt ordained Preſbyter, had he thought it neceſſary.

(1) Vide Mabill. in comment. prævio in Ord. Rom. n. 18.

favoured and protected by St. *Peter*, to take him, the Successor and Vicar of that Apostle, into his Favour and Protection. In the same Letter he had the Assurance to tell *Pepin*, that he had been chosen by the joint Suffrages of the Clergy and People of *Rome*; that he had long withstood their Prayers, their Entreaties, and even their Tears; but that finding them determined to chuse no other, he had, in the End, been obliged to acquiesce in the Will of God and his People[w]. This Letter he convey'd to *Pepin* by two Embassadors, who had been sent by that Prince to beg of Pope *Paul the Lives of the Saints*, Legends alone being now in Request, and were then returning to *France*. As the Embassadors had been present at his Election, and well knew what had passed on that Occasion, he took care to engage them, before they left *Rome*, with many rich Presents, to confirm, by Word of Mouth, all he said in his Letter. As he was well apprised that *Pepin* would soon be informed by others, if not by them, of the Unlawfulness of his Election, to prepossess him in his Favour, he dispatched, soon after their Departure, two of his most trusty Friends into *France*; *Christopher* Presbyter, and *Anastasius* Notary, with another Letter to the King, entreating him not to give Credit to certain false and scandalous Reports, that were maliciously spread abroad by his Enemies concerning his Election; and assuring him, that no Violence had been used with any but himself; that no Bishop had ever more unfeignedly declined, and none more unwillingly accepted the episcopal Dignity, than himself; that he had indeed comply'd, in the End, with the Will of the People, or rather of God, revealed to him in the Will of the People. He added, that he had sent two Persons of the greatest Probity, and the most unexceptionable Characters, on whose Veracity he might entirely rely, to inform him of every Particular relating to his Election; and that he did not doubt, but his most Christian Son would give more Credit to them, than to the Emissaries of those whose Ambition had been, to their great Mortification and his own, disappointed[x].

Year of Christ 767. *His Letter to him.*

In the same Letter, to make his Court to *Pepin*, he gives him an Account of the State of Religion in the East; telling him, among other Things, that he had received a Synodical Letter from *Theodore*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, addressed to his Predecessor, to acquaint him, that the Worship of Images began to revive in the East; and

Gives him an Account of the State of Religion in the East.

[w] Cod. Carol. ep. 98. [x] Cod. Carol. ep. 99.

that

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that not only *Theodore* himſelf, but the two Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Alexandria* entirely agreed, in the Article relating to Images, with the Patriarch of *Rome*. Of that Letter, genuine or ſuppoſititious (D), *Conſtantine* ſent a Copy, both in *Greek* and in *Latin*, to *Pepin*; and, after entreating him, over and over again, to continue his Protection to the Church, the People, and the Vicar of St. *Peter*, he begged him to remand, as ſoon as poſſible, the two Nuncios, whom his Predeceſſor had ſent into *France*; pretending, that their Churches ſuffered greatly by their Abſence; but, in Truth, to learn of them what the *French* and their King thought of his Election. In both Letters he expreſſes great Zeal for the Welfare of the Church, and the Good of the Chriſtian Religion and the Catholic Faith; and had not, perhaps, more of the Hypocrite than moſt of his Predeceſſors.

Great Diſturbances in Rome. Year of Chriſt 768.

The War which *Pepin* was carrying on, at this Time, againſt *Vaifar*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, diverted him from attending, at preſent, to the Affairs of *Italy*; and before he put an End to that War, which he did ſoon after by the Reduction of that Country, *Conſtantine* was depoſed, and another raiſed to the See in his Room. Of this Event *Anaſtaſius* gives us the following Account. *Chriſtopher* and his Son *Sergius*, the one *Primicerius* and Counſellor (E), and the other Treaſurer of the *Roman* Church, ſhocked at ſo bare-faced an Uſurpation, formed a Deſign of driving out the Uſurper, by ſome Means or other, and making Room for a new and canonical Election. This Deſign they imparted to ſome *Roman* Citizens, who, they knew, were no Friends to *Conſtantine:* But finding them too much intimi-

(D) I ſaid *genuine or ſuppoſititious*; it not being at all probable that the *Saracens*, who were more averſe to Images even than the Emperor, and to whom the three Patriarchs were ſubject, would have ſuffered that Worſhip to revive in their Dominions. Beſides, no Notice is taken by any of the Hiſtorians of thoſe Times, tho' all moſt zealous Advocates for Pictures and Images, nor even by the Fathers of *Nice*, of any Council approving at this Time, in the Eaſt, the Uſe or the Worſhip of Images; nay, Pope *Adrian*, in a Letter which he wrote, 30 Years after, to the Emperor *Conſtantine*, the preſent Emperor's Grandſon, and his Mother *Irene*, tells them, that, till their Time, the People in the Eaſt had all erred in what concerned Images (1); that is, had all rejected both the Uſe and the Worſhip of Images.

(E) The *Primicerius* and *Secundicerius* were the two chief Officers of the *Roman* Church. Their Office was, to judge and decide all Diſputes among thoſe, who immediately belonged to the Pope, or waited on his Perſon; to attend him in the public Proceſſions, the one walking on his Right, and the other on his Left Hand; and to aſſiſt him, with their Advice, in all Affairs of Importance, eccleſiaſtical or civil: Whence they are frequently ſtiled the Pope's Counſellors.

(1) Tom. 7. Concil. p. 89.

dated and awed by *Toto* and his Followers, to join in the Enterprise, they resolved to apply to the *Lombards*; and with that View begged Leave of *Constantine* to retire, as being tired of the World to the Monastery of St. *Saviour* in the Dukedom of *Spoleti*. *Constantine*, apprehending they might raise some Disturbances in the City, readily complied with their Request, but obliged them, before they left *Rome*, to swear that their Design was to embrace a monastic Life, that they had no other Design whatsoever, and that they would never undertake any thing themselves, or encourage others to undertake any thing against him. This Oath they both took, the Honour of the *Roman* Church being at Stake, without the least Scruple or Remorse, thinking it could be no Sin to forswear themselves for the Good of the apostolic See. And now *Constantine*, apprehending nothing from them, suffered them to depart. But they, instead of repairing to the Monastery, where the Abbot expected them, went strait to *Spoleti*, and from thence to *Pavia*, to impart their Design to the King of the *Lombards*, and gain him over, which they thought might be easily accomplished, to their Side. But they found the King not inclined to concern himself in the Affair the one way or the other. However he declared, that if they could persuade any of his Subjects to join them, he would not prevent it. With this Answer they left *Pavia*, and being joined in the Cities of *Spoleti* and *Rieti* by a great many *Lombards*, they marched silently with them towards *Rome*. They arrived on the 29th of *July* in the Evening at the Gate of St. *Pancrase*, which being early next Morning opened to them by their Friends, they entered the City, and declaring that they were come to deliver *Rome* from its Tyrants, set up their Standard on the Wall. In the mean time *Toto*, a Man of great Resolution and Bravery, alarmed at the Noise, and hastening, with one of his Brothers, named *Passif*, and some of his Friends, to the Walls, fell on the *Lombards*, killed with his own Hand *Racipert* their Leader, and put the rest, both *Lombards* and *Romans*, to Flight. But while he was pursuing them, two *Romans*, who were with him, and pretended to be his Friends, attacking him behind, ran him through with their Lances, and laid him dead at their Feet. *Toto* being killed, all, who were with him, betaking themselves to Flight, endeavoured to make their Escape. *Passif* fled to the *Lateran* Palace to acquaint his Brother *Constantine* with what had passed, and apprise him of the Danger he was in. Both took Refuge in the

Year of Christ 768.

Duke Toto, Constantine's *Brother, killed.*

Year of Christ 768.

Oratory of St. *Cæsarius* within the Palace; but were soon discovered there, and dragged to Prison[y].

Constantine *taken, and dragged to Prison.*

During this Confusion, a Presbyter, named *Waldipert*, flew with some *Romans* to the Monastery of St. *Vitus*, and taking from thence *Philip* a *Lombard* Monk, proclaimed him Pope, conducted him to the *Lateran*, crying aloud, *Long live Pope Philip, St.* Peter *has chosen him*, and there placed him in the pontifical Chair. The Monk, who had never once thought of the Papal Dignity, looked upon all this as a Dream. But *Waldipert* encouraging him, and some of the Populace applauding, with repeated Acclamations, the Election of Pope *Philip*, he took upon him all the State and Majesty of a Pope, gave his Blessing, with great Solemnity, to the People, who flocked, from all Quarters of the City to see their new Sovereign, and entertained that Night at Supper, the leading Men of the Militia and the Clergy. In the mean time *Christopher* and *Sergius*, greatly surprised at this new Election, assembled, upon the first Notice they had of it, the Heads of the People and the Clergy, and protesting against it, declared, in their Presence, that they were determined not to acquiesce in the Election of *Philip*, no less scandalous than that of *Constantine*, and would not dismiss the *Lombards* they had brought with them, till the mock Pope quitting the *Lateran* returned to his Monastery. *Waldipert* and his Party, were no Match for *Christopher* and his *Lombards*, and therefore abandoning *Philip*, advised him to withdraw quietly to his Monastery; which he did, having enjoy'd the Papal Dignity not quite 24 Hours[z].

Philip *a Monk made Pope and deposed.*

Stephen *chosen, and* Constantine *degraded.*

Both Intruders being thus driven out, *Christopher* assembled, a few Days after, the People and the Clergy, in order to proceed, according to the Canons, to a new Election. They met on the fifth of *August*, and the same Day chose, with one Consent, *Stephen*, Presbyter of the Church of St. *Cæcilia*, and conducted him, with the usual Ceremonies, to the *Lateran*. The next Day, the sixth of *August*, some Bishops and *Roman* Presbyters, assembling in the Church of St. *Saviour*, ordered *Constantine* to be brought before them, and having first caused the Canons to be read, solemnly deposed him. He was then sent to *Collanova*, and there shut up in a Monastery. The Day after, being the 7th of *August*, which in 769. fell on a Sunday, *Stephen* was ordained, and an End put at last to the Schism[a].

[y] Anast. in Steph. 111. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid.

But

But no End was put to the Cruelties practiſed by the Partiſans of the new Pope on all, who had adhered either to *Conſtantine*, or *Philip*. *Theodore*, a Biſhop, and *Conſtantine*'s *Major domo*, had his Eyes and his Tongue plucked out, and was confined to a Monaſtery on Mount *Scaurus*, where he died of Hunger and Thirſt, roaring in a Manner to melt the moſt hardened Heart, but in vain, only for a Cup of Water. *Paſſif*, *Conſtantine*'s Brother, was likewiſe deprived, and in a moſt barbarous Manner, of his Sight. *Gracilis*, Tribune of *Alatri* in *Campania*, and *Conſtantine*'s Friend, being ſeized, and brought to *Rome*, met there with the ſame Treatment as *Theodore*. *Conſtantine* had been confined, as I have related above, to a Monaſtery in *Callanova*; but theſe Barbarians, thinking he had been too mildly dealt with, dragged him from thence, and leading him about expoſed to the Inſults of the Populace on Horſeback with heavy Weights at his Feet, in the end they put out his Eyes, and left him in that Condition lying in the Street. The Presbyter *Waldipert*, who had cauſed *Philip* to be proclaimed Pope, was dragged from the *Pantheon*, where he had taken Refuge, and condemned to have his Eyes and his Tongue pulled out; which was done in ſo cruel a Manner, that he died of the Pain [b]. Did the Cruelty of the Emperor to the Monks, allowing all the *Byzantine* Hiſtorians have ſaid of his Cruelty to be true, exceed that, I will not ſay of the Pope to theſe unhappy Wretches, but of his Miniſters and Friends, whom it does not appear that he ever once offered to reſtrain? The Cruelties practiſed at *Rome*, *Baronius* conſtrues into a Judgment upon thoſe, who ſuffered them, for preſuming to raiſe a Layman, and raiſe him by Force and Violence, to the Throne of St. *Peter*: And may we not, with much better Reaſon, conſtrue the Cruelties, that are ſaid to have been practiſed on the Monks at *Conſtantinople*, into a juſt Judgment upon them for preſuming to maintain, and with Treaſon and Rebellion, an idolatrous Worſhip forbidden by the Law of God, and the Laws of the Empire?

Year of Chriſt 768. Conſtantine *and his Friends treated with the utmoſt Cruelty.*

The new Pope was a Native of *Sicily*, and the Son of one *Olivus*. He is ſaid by *Anaſtaſius*, to have been held in great Eſteem by the four preceding Popes, on account of his Piety and Learning, eſpecially by his immediate Predeceſſor *Paul*, whom he attended in his laſt Malady with great Care and Tenderneſs, never ſtirring from his Bed till he expired [c]. Upon his Death he withdrew to his Church,

The new Pope writes to Pepin *and his two Sons.* Year of Chriſt 769.

[b] Idem ibid. [c] Anaſt. ibid.

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and there continued quiet till *Conſtantine* being depoſed, he was raiſed to the See in his Room, in the Manner we have ſeen. He was no ſooner ordained, than courting the Favour of *Pepin*, as his Predeceſſors had all done ever ſince they ſhook off the Yoke and all Subjection to the Emperors, he diſpatched *Sergius*, the Son of *Chriſtopher*, into *France* with a Letter to the King and his two Sons *Charles* and *Carloman*, to acquaint them with his Election, to engage their Protection, and at the ſame Time entreat them to ſend ſome of the moſt learned Biſhops of their Kingdom to aſſiſt at a Council, which he propoſed to aſſemble at *Rome*, in order to reſtore the eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline entirely neglected during the Uſurpation of *Conſtantine*. *Sergius* received, on the Road, the melancholy News of *Pepin*'s Death, (he died of a Dropſy on the 23d of *September* of the preſent Year, in the 54th Year of his Age, and the 17th of his Reign) but purſuing, nevertheleſs, his Journey, he delivered the Letter, with which he was charged, to the deceaſed King's two Sons, *Charles* and *Carloman*. Both received him with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, aſſured him that they were determined to maintain St. *Peter* and his Vicar in the quiet Poſſeſſion of whatever their Father had, out of his great Piety and Religion, been pleaſed to give them, and, in compliance with the Requeſt of the Pope, ſent together with the Legate, on his Return to *Rome*, twelve of the moſt learned Biſhops of their Kingdom[d]. On their Arrival a Council was aſſembled in the *Lateran*, conſiſting of the Biſhops of *Tuſcany*, *Campania*, and of ſome other Provinces of *Italy*, and the twelve Biſhops come from *France*. The Pope preſided in Perſon; and the firſt Day they met, the unhappy *Conſtantine* was, by his Order, brought, in a moſt deplorable Condition, his Wounds not being yet healed, before them. They asked him, how he had preſumed to intrude himſelf, being yet a Layman, into the holy Apoſtolic See? What could have tempted him to commit ſo enormous and unheard-of a Crime? He anſwered, that it was not by any Intrigues of his, that he had attained the Pontifical Dignity; but that the People had carried him by Force to the *Lateran*, and obliged him to accept it, hoping he would redreſs the Grievances they had complained of under *Paul*. He then threw himſelf on the Ground, owned himſelf guilty, confeſſed that his Sins were more in Number than the Sand of the Sea,

Begs them to ſend ſome of their Biſhops to aſſiſt at a Council to be held in Rome.

The Council meets, and Conſtantine *is brought before them.*

3

[d] Idem ibid.

and

and ſtretching out his Arms, begged they would ſuffer Mercy to take Place of Juſtice, and forgive him. The Fathers returned him no Anſwer, but only ordered him to be raiſed from the Ground, and led out of the Aſſembly. Year of Chriſt 769.

The next Day he was brought again before the Council, and interrogated anew concerning his Intruſion. As the Fathers laid great Streſs on his being, in defiance of the Laws of the Church, of a Layman ordained Biſhop, calling it *a new Crime, an unheard-of Attempt*; he modeſtly replied, that of ſuch Ordinations many Inſtances occurred in the Annals of the Church (F); and, to wave more ancient Precedents, that *Sergius* of *Ravenna* and *Stephen* of *Naples*, both Metropolitans, had been thus ordained in the late Pontificate. This Anſwer one would think, could have given no Offence, the Biſhops he named being ſtill living, and in the quiet Poſſeſſion of their Sees. But he had the Aſſurance to ſpeak in his own Defence, nay, and to contradict the Council: The Fathers therefore, provoked beyond meaſure at his Inſolence, and fired with Zeal, ſays *Anaſtaſius*, for the ancient Practice of the Church, ordered him to be moſt cruelly beaten in their Preſence, and drove him with Reproaches and Curſes out of the Aſſembly. From his being thus barbarouſly treated, tho' an Object of Compaſſion rather than of Reſentment and Revenge, by a Council, at which the Pope preſided, nay, and by his Order, for all the Biſhops joined, *univerſi Sacerdotes* ſays *Anaſtaſius*, in that cruel Order, may we not conclude the Cruelties uſed with the Friends of that unhappy Man to have been, if not commanded, at leaſt tacitly approved by his Holineſs? If ſo, I leave the Reader to judge, which of the two was the greater Tyrant, *Stephen*, or the Emperor *Conſtantine*. *His cruel Treatment.*

(F) St. *Ambroſe* was not only a Layman, but ſtill a Catechumen, and not yet baptized, when the People of *Milan* choſe him for their Biſhop; and he was ordained a few Days after his Election (1). St. *Cyprian* was but a Neophite, or newly baptized, when he was choſen, and conſecrated Biſhop (2); and ſo was *Nectarius*, when he was named, by the Second General Council, to ſucceed *Gregory Nazianzen* in the See of *Conſtantinople* (3). *Eucherius* was but a Layman when choſen and ordained Biſhop of *Lions* (4); and *Philogonius* of *Antioch* was carried, as *Chryſoſtom* informs us (5), from the Court of Judicature to the Biſhop's Throne. And it is to be obſerved, that in thoſe Days, a Layman, when named to the epiſcopal Dignity, was ordained Biſhop at once, without any other previous Ordination.

(1) Paulin. vit. Ambroſ. l. 5. c. 8. Sozom. l. 7. c. 8.
(2) Pontius in vit. Cypri.
(3) Socrat.
(4) Hilar. Arelat. in vit. Honorat.
(5) Chryſ. hom. 31. de Philog.

In

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Sentence pronounced againſt Conſtantine.

In the third Seſſion the Council, that is, the Acts of the Council, that had confirmed the Election of *Conſtantine*, and not the Biſhops, who compoſed it, as *Marianus Scotus* underſtood it, was burnt in the Preſence of all, and *Conſtantine* himſelf condemned, as if no Puniſhment had yet been inflicted on him, to lead ſo long as he lived, ſhut up in a Monaſtery, the auſtere Life of a Penitent. This Sentence being pronounced, all, who had acknowleged him, and received the Euchariſt at his Hands, in which Number was *Stephen* himſelf, tho' now ſo zealous for the ancient Practice of the Church, proſtrating themſelves on the Ground, begged Pardon of God for ſo great a Crime; and Penance was enjoined them, we know not by whom[e].

Decrees enacted by the Council.

In the next Place, to deter and prevent others from intruding themſelves by Force, after the Example of *Conſtantine*, into the Throne of St. *Peter*, they ordered the Canons of the Church to be brought in; which being publicly read, they iſſued a Decree, forbidding, on pain of Excommunication, any Perſon whatever to be thenceforth raiſed to the Pontifical Dignity, who had not previouſly paſſed through the inferior Degrees to that of Cardinal Deacon, or Cardinal Prieſt. And thus was that Dignity firſt confined to the Cardinal Deacons and Cardinal Prieſts(G). By the ſame Decree it was

[e] Idem ibid.

(G) The Word *Cardinal* is derived from the *Latin* Word *cardo*, a Hinge, and ſignifies a Thing, upon which other Things hang or depend, as a Door does on its Hinges, that is, a chief or principal Thing. Thus the four chief Points of the Compaſs, and the Ecliptic, are called the *Cardinal Points*, the four chief moral Virtues the *Cardinal Virtues*; and the chief or leading Men among the *Donatiſts* are ſtiled, by St. *Auſtin*. the *Cardinal Donatiſts* (1). In like manner the principal Prieſts and Deacons of a Church were called the *Cardinal Prieſts*, the *Cardinal Deacons*, of that Church. But who were the principal Deacons and Prieſts, to whom the Name of Cardinals was appropriated, is not agreed amongſt Authors. *Onuphrius Panvinius* is of Opinion, that as ſeveral Prieſts and Deacons belonged to one and the ſame Church, the Chief Prieſts and Deacons were thoſe who preſided over the reſt of their reſpective Orders in the ſame Church. Thus the Prieſt, for inſtance, who preſided over all the Prieſts of the Church of St. *Balbina*, was ſtiled the Cardinal Prieſt of St. *Balbina*; and the Deacon, who preſided over all Deacons of the Church of St. *Sabina*, was ſtiled the Cardinal Deacon of St. *Sabina* (2). According to this Interpretation, there muſt have been only one Cardinal Prieſt in each Church. But in the Works of Pope *Gregory the Great* we frequently read of ſeveral Cardinal Prieſts belonging to the ſame Church; and the Acts of a Council, which that Pope held at *Rome*, are ſigned by three Cardinal Prieſts of St. *Balbina*, by two of St. *Damaſus*, two of St. *Sylveſter*, and two of the Holy Apoſtles (3). By the Cardinal Prieſts *Salmaſius* underſtands the Archprieſts (4). But he is therein groſly miſtaken, nothing being more certain, than that there were ſeveral Car-

(1) Aug. de Baptiſt. l. 1. c. 6. (2) Onuph. Panvin. lib. de Epiſcopatibus, titulis, &c. (3) Greg. regiſt. l. 4. c. 88. (4) Salm. de Primat. c. 1.

dinal

was likewiſe enacted, and on Pain of Excommunication, that none ſhould aſſiſt at the Election with Swords, Clubs, or any other Wea- Year of Chriſt 769.

dinal Prieſts in the ſame City, and but one Archprieſt. Beſides, the Name of Cardinal is of a much later Date, and not to be found in any genuine Writer till the Time of *Gregory the Great*, the Council of *Rome* under Pope *Sylveſter*, the only Authority alleged by *Bellarmine* (5) to prove it more ancient, being now univerſally rejected as a mere Fiction. Some think that the Cardinal Prieſts and Deacons were ſo called from their being fixed in the principal Churches, where Baptiſm might be adminiſtered, which were therefore ſtiled *Eccleſiæ* and *Tituli Cardinales* (6); ſo that the Name of *Cardinal* was, according to this Opinion, firſt given to the Place, and from the Place derived to the Perſons. Others tell us, that when the Number of the Eccleſiaſtics was ſo increaſed in the populous Cities, that they could not all conveniently meet to regulate with the Biſhops the Affairs of the Church, ſome Preſbyters and Deacons were choſen out of the reſt to be, as it were, the Biſhop's Council, who were therefore called chief or *Cardinal* Preſbyters and Deacons (7). *Machiavel* in his Hiſtory of *Florence* gives us the following Account of the Original of Cardinals: "In the Pontificate, ſays he, of Pope "*Paſchal* I. (created in 817.) the Curates "of *Rome* took upon them the pompous "Title of Cardinals, as being the Pope's "Miniſters neareſt to his Perſon, and "having a chief Share in his Election: "And their Authority encreaſed to that "Degree after they had found Means of "depriving the People of *Rome* of the "Right of electing the Pope, that the "Papal Dignity fell almoſt always upon "one of them (8)." In *Paſchal*'s Time, and long after, ſuch of them, as were only Deacons or Prieſts, ſigned all public Writings, as appears from ſeveral Councils held at *Rome*, after the Biſhops, as inferior in Rank to them. But when the Papal Dignity was reſtrained to them, as it was by the preſent Council; and they had beſides engroſſed to themſelves the Power of electing the Pope, their Dignity encreaſed with his, till he became ſuperior, and they equal to the greateſt Princes of the Earth. Thus what was originally no Degree at all, nor Order in the Church, became, in Proceſs of Time, the higheſt Degree after the Papal, and was courted as ſuch by the greateſt Biſhops. A moſt political Inſtitution! For thus the Popes were ſupply'd with the Means of gaining and attaching to their See the moſt eminent Prelates of the different Chriſtian Kingdoms, who, being once veſted with that Dignity, looked upon the Intereſts of the Apoſtolic See as their own, ſince they might be raiſed to it in their Turn. The Cardinals, tho' thus diſtinguiſhed by their Rank, wore no peculiar Habit nor Badge of their Dignity till the Time of Pope *Innocent* IV. who having created 12 Cardinals in a Council he held at *Lions* in 1244, allowed them to wear thenceforth a red Hat, to declare thereby, that they were ready to defend the *Roman* Church, then grievouſly oppreſſed by the Emperor *Frederic* II. at the Expence of their Heads or their Lives (9). *Paul* II. raiſed to the See in 1464, added the red Garment and Cap, to be worn by all but Monks and Friars: And to them too the red Cap was granted in 1560. by Pope *Gregory* XIV. Laſtly, That they might not be diſtinguiſhed by their Habit alone, *Urban* VIII. choſen in 1623, granted them, by a ſpecial Bull, the Title of *Moſt Eminent*. It is to be obſerved, that in other Cities, as well as in *Rome*, there were Cardinal Prieſts and Cardinal Deacons: But that Title was in 1543. ſuppreſſed by *Paul* III. in all Churches but the *Roman*. And now all Cardinals, to what Church ſoever they belonged before their Creation, ſtile themſelves after it *Cardinals of the holy Roman Church*. They are the Pope's Counſellors; and with them he adviſes in all Matters of Moment, as he formerly did with the neighbouring Biſhops, but is not bound to follow their Advice.

(5) Bellar. de Cleric. l. 1. c. 16. (6) Idem ibid. (7) Stillingfl. Irenic. part 2. c. 7. (8) Machiavel. Iſtor. di Firenz. l. 1. (9) Onuph. Panvin. in not. ad vit. Innoc. IV.

pon,

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pon, and that none, coming from *Campania* or *Tuscany*, should be admitted into the City till the Election was made. As to the Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops, who had been ordained by *Constantine*, it was decreed, that they should be chosen anew in their respective Cities; that repairing to *Rome* with the Decree of their Election, they should there be re-ordained by the Pope, and that the Deacons and Presbyters should be for ever excluded from the Episcopal Dignity. It was added, that the Laymen, whom *Constantine* had preferred to any Rank in the Church, should never be admitted among the Clergy, but wear, as Penitents, a religious Habit so long as they lived[f]. No Punishment was inflicted upon those who had acknowleged *Constantine* and communicated with him, the Pope himself being one of that Number.

Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops, ordained by Constantine, *ordered to be re-ordained.*

As Ordination is no more to be reiterated, according to the present Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, than Baptism, and it is thought a Sacrilege in that Church to reiterate either, the Popish Writers take a great deal of Pains, and above all *Natalis Alexander*[g], to convince us, that the Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops, ordained by *Constantine*, were not, by the Decree of the present Council, to be ordained anew, but only to be restored, by the Imposition of Hands, to the free Exercise of their respective Offices, from which they were suspended on account of their unlawful Ordination. But *Anastasius*, the only Writer, who gives us an Account of that Council, says that those Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons were, by the Decree of the Council, to be all consecrated anew; and to consecrate and ordain are with that Writer, as might be shown by innumerable Instances, synonimous Terms. Besides, *Anastasius* tells us in express Words, that *by the same Council it was decreed, that all Things, relating to the Sacraments of the Church, and the Worship of God, done by* Constantine, *should be reiterated, except Baptism, and the sacred Chrism*[h]: And he knew better, as we may well suppose (for he flourished not quite a hundred Years after the Time of this Council) what was, and what was not to be reiterated, than either *Natalis* or *Baronius*.

The Worship of Images approved by this Council.

The Acts of *Constantine* being thus annulled, and such Measures agreed on as seemed the most proper to prevent, for the future, all Force and Violence in the Election of the Pope, in the fourth and

[f] Idem ibid. [g] Natal. Alex. sec. 8. c. 1. art. 8. & Bar. ad Ann. 769. p. 300. n. 6. [h] Anast. in Steph. III.

last

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last Session other Matters were settled, and among the rest the Point relating to the Use and the Worship of Images, a Point, which the Popes had now, for the Space of near fifty Years, never concerned themselves with, being too much taken up with State-affairs to attend to those of Religion. What was the Determination of the Council concerning that Article *Anastasius* informs us in a few Words: The Testimonies of the Fathers, says he, in behalf of Images, were produced and most carefully examined; and it being found, upon the strictest Examination and Enquiry, that Images had been used and worshipped by the Christians since the earliest Times, that the Popes and all the holy Fathers had ever approved, recommended, and promoted their Use and their Worship[i], it was decreed, that Images should not only be retained but be honoured and worshipped, and the execrable Synod, that had been lately assembled in *Greece* to break and destroy them (the Council of *Constantinople*, which consisted of 338 Bishops, and spent six Months in examining what a few Bishops are said here to have *most carefully examined* in a few Hours) was condemned, rejected, and accursed[k]. Of this Council some Fragments occur in the Letter Pope *Adrian* wrote to *Charlemagne* in Defence of the second Council of *Nice*; and from them we learn, that a Passage was alleged by the *French* Bishop *Herulphus* out of Pope *Gregory the Great* to show, that the Worship of Images was approved by that Pope; and another by *Sergius* of *Ravenna* out of St. *Ambrose* saying that a Person appeared to him resembling St. *Paul* as represented by his Image[l]. But that no Iconoclast was ever more averse to the Worship of Images than Pope *Gregory the Great*, tho' he was against breaking them, has been shown elsewhere[m]; and from the Saying of St. *Ambrose* we can only conclude, that in his Time, or in the latter End of the 4th Century, there were Images of St. *Paul*, which we do not deny, the Use of Images having been introduced, as I have observed elsewhere[n], about that Time. From the same Letter of Pope *Adrian* it appears, that by the very learned Bishops of the present Assembly great Stress was laid on the Image, which our Saviour was said to have sent of himself to *Abgarus*, King of *Edessa*. But should we allow all that has been said of that Image to be true, and the Letter, which our Saviour is supposed to have written on that Occasion, to be as au-

Upon what Grounds they approved it.

[i] See vol. 3. p. 202, & seq. ad Carol. mag. 28. act. 5.
[k] Anast. ubi supra.
[l] Epist. Hadrian.
[m] See vol. 3. p. 233.
[n] See vol. 3. p. 229.

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thentic and genuine as *Stephen* and *Adrian* believed it, it would from thence only follow, that the Use of Images was approved by our Saviour to put us in mind of him, nothing else being said of that Image in the Letter, but that it was sent to satisfy the Desire King *Abgarus* had of seeing *Jesus*, and to convince him by so miraculous an Effigie, that the Miracles he had wrought were not impossible. But the whole is a mere Fable, as has been shown in the preceding Volume[o]; and we need no better Proof of the Ignorance, that universally prevailed in the Times, when the Worship of Images was established, than to find such fabulous Stories, gravely related, and firmly believed by the Bishops, the Popes and the Councils of those Days.

The Pope presses the King of the Lombards *to deliver up some Places he still kept.*

As several Cities, that had been yielded by the Treaty of *Pavia* to the Apostolic See, were still kept by the *Lombards*, *Stephen* had no sooner dismissed the Council, than laying aside all Thoughts of Images and ecclesiastic Affairs, he began to press *Desiderius* to deliver up those Places without further Delay, threatening, if he did not forthwith comply with his just Demands, to recur to his beloved Sons the two Kings of *France Charles* and *Carloman*, who, he said, had signed that Treaty as well as King *Pepin* their Father, and had bound themselves by a solemn Oath to employ, if necessary, the whole Strength of their Kingdom in procuring the Execution of the Articles it contained. As it was at the Instigation of *Christopher* and his Son *Sergius*, of whom I have spoken above, that the Pope, who was entirely directed and governed by their Counsels, thus insisted on the immediate Execution of the Treaty, and they trusting in the Protection of *France* diverted him from hearkening to any Terms of an Accommodation with the *Lombards*, *Desiderius* resolved to remove them, by some means or other, out of the way. With that View he privately applied to *Paul Afiarta*, the Pope's Chamberlain, by Nation a *Lombard*, and one, in whom the Pope reposed an entire Confidence, conveying to him by means of his Emissaries in *Rome* many rich Presents, and promising him a great Reward, provided he prevailed on the Pope to dismiss his two favourite Ministers. This *Paul* readily undertook; and having accordingly with artful Insinuations, with censuring their Conduct, and misconstruing their Measures, greatly lessened the Confidence the Pope had placed in them, and the high Opinion he entertained of their Integrity, and

Great Disturbances raised in Rome *by the Friends of the King.*

[o] See vol. 3. p. 203. Note A.

Zeal

Zeal for his Welfare, and that of his See, he at laſt aſſured him, that they had formed a Deſign of murdering him, and making themſelves Sovereigns of *Rome*, which they governed already with an uncontrolled Power and abſolute Sway. This bare-faced Calumny he cauſed to be publiſhed by his Friends and Accomplices among the People; which, as it was by ſome believed, and disbelieved by others, gave Riſe to two oppoſite Factions; and thereupon great Diviſions, Animoſities, Tumults daily enſued in the City. Year of Chriſt 769.

Of theſe Diſturbances *Deſiderius* was ſoon informed by his Friends, and being reſolved to avail himſelf of them he drew together, in great Haſte, a conſiderable Body of Troops, and marching at their Head towards *Rome*, gave out that he intended to viſit the holy Places there, and confer in Perſon with the Pope, which, he ſaid, was the moſt expeditious way of ſettling, to their mutual Satisfaction, all Points in Diſpute. But his true Deſign was to foment the Diſturbances, to ſupport *Paul* and his Friends, to cruſh the oppoſite Party, and get the two Miniſters, with ſuch Perſons of Note as adhered to them, deſtroyed or delivered up into his Hands. But they, receiving timely Notice of his March, and ſuſpecting his Deſign, took care to defeat it, aſſembling for that Purpoſe, with incredible Expedition, and bringing into the City a numerous Militia from *Tuſcany*, *Campania*, and the Dukedom of *Perugia*; inſomuch that the King, finding, as he drew near, the Gates all ſhut, and the Walls well defended, encamped his Army in the Meadows of *Nero*, and went himſelf, attended only by his Guards, to the Church of St. *Peter* then without the City. From thence he ſent ſome of his chief Lords to acquaint the Pope, that he was come to confer with him in Perſon, and to beg, that ſince he was not allowed to enter the City, tho' he had no hoſtile Deſigns, his Holineſs would be pleaſed to grant him an Interview in the Church of the Apoſtle St. *Peter*, ſince he could not but be ſenſible, that their Differences would be more eaſily made up by themſelves than their Miniſters. The Pope, ſuſpecting no Treachery, readily comply'd with the Requeſt of the King. But the Conference was ſcarce begun, when the Pope was obliged to interrupt it, and haſten back into the City. In his Abſence *Paul* and his Accomplices had raiſed the Mob, as was agreed between them and the King of the *Lombards*, againſt the two Miniſters with a Deſign to deſtroy them. But they repelling, with the Aſſiſtance of their Friends, whom they quickly aſſembled, Force by Force, a Skir-

Who advances to Rome *with his Army.*

The Pope grants him an Interview in the Church of St. Peter.

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His Party overpowered in Rome.

miſh enſued, in which the Party of *Paul* was in the end overpowered and obliged to take Shelter in the *Lateran* Palace. Thither the Conquerors purſued them, and entering, Sword in Hand, the Baſilic itſelf, would have dragged them from thence and put them to Death, had not the Pope, who was there, ſeverely reprimanded them and obliged them to retire.

In a ſecond Interview he obliges the Pope to diſmiſs his two favourite Miniſters.

The Tumult being thus appeaſed, and all quiet in the City, the Pope returned the next Day to the Conference. But the King, finding the Attempt of *Paul* had proved unſucceſsful, inſtead of entering upon Buſineſs, broke unexpectedly out into moſt bitter Complaints and Invectives againſt the two Tyrants, as he called them, who not ſatisfied with uſurping the Power and tyrannically abuſing it to the Oppreſſion of the unhappy People of *Rome*, had moſt wickedly conſpired againſt the Life of his Holineſs, with a Deſign of uſurping the Sovereignty as well as the Power. He then ordered all the Gates of the Church to be ſhut, declaring, as if he had nothing in his View but the Safety of the Pope, for which he expreſſed the greateſt Concern, that neither his Holineſs nor any of his Retinue ſhould ſtir from thence, till the two Traitors were diſmiſſed from their Employments, and diveſted of all Power. The Pope, now in the Power of the *Lombards* and in a manner their Priſoner, immediately diſpatched two Biſhops of his Retinue into the City to declare *Chriſtopher* and his Son *Sergius* diſmiſſed from his Service, and command them, in his Name, to retire forthwith into a Monaſtery, or, if they were conſcious of their Innocence, to repair to the Church of St. *Peter*, and there make it appear to the King of the *Lombards* and to him. They were well appriſed of the Deſign of the King, that he only wanted to get them into his Power, and that it was not of his own accord that the Pope had ſent them ſuch a Meſſage or Command, but at his Inſtigation and to gratify him. They therefore returned Anſwer, that they ſhould make their Innocence appear to his Holineſs, to whom alone they were accountable for their Conduct, on his Return into the City; but would, in the mean time, continue with their Friends to defend it till the *Lombards* were retired, and his Holineſs left at full Liberty to abſolve or condemn them, as he ſhould find them, upon a fair Trial, innocent or guilty. But as diſgraced Miniſters, generally ſpeaking, have no Friends, it was no ſooner known in the City that the Pope had diſcharged them, than they found themſelves abandoned by all, even by their neareſt Rela-

Relations, among whom was Duke *Gratioſus*, their Couſin-german, a Man of great Power and Authority with the People of *Rome*. And now the Party of *Paul* prevailing in the City, the two unhappy Miniſters reſolved to quit it, and repairing to the Pope in the *Vatican*, (the King of the *Lombards* being returned to his Camp,) to throw themſelves at his Feet, and having ſatisfied him of their Innocence, implore his Protection. They got accordingly over the Walls in the Night; but falling on the Centinels of the *Lombards*, they were carried by them to their King, who ſent them the next Day to the Pope. The Pope had engaged his Word to the King that they ſhould be no more employ'd; and therefore would not ſuffer them to utter a ſingle Word in their Defence, but let them know, as ſoon as they appeared before him, that they muſt take the Monkiſh Habit and ſpend the reſt of their Lives in a Monaſtery. The ſame Day the Pope and the King met the third Time in the Church of St. *Peter*, when the King promiſed upon Oath, and he took it, ſays *Anaſtaſius*, on the Body of St. *Peter*, to ſatisfy his Holineſs as to all his Pretenſions and Claims as ſoon as he returned to his Kingdom. They then took Leave of each other, the Pope returning into the City, and the King to his Camp.

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As for *Chriſtopher* and *Sergius*, the Pope, deſirous of ſaving their Lives, as he was indebted to them for his Dignity, left them in the Church of St. *Peter*, the King having promiſed not to moleſt them; and they were to enter the City in the Night to avoid falling into the Hands of *Paul* and the Mob of his Party, who, the Pope well knew, ſought their Deſtruction. But *Paul* and the King, apprehending they might make their Eſcape in the dark, and perhaps be re-admitted to the Confidence and Favour of the Pope, to prevent their being ever more employed, dragged them before Night from their Aſylum, and cauſed their Eyes to be plucked out in ſo barbarous a Manner, that *Chriſtopher* died the third Day of the Pain. *Sergius* ſurvived it, but it was only to be kept cloſely confined ſo long as the Pope lived, and barbarouſly murdered as ſoon as he died. Such is the Account the Bibliothecarian gives us of the Cauſe and the Iſſue of the preſent Diſturbances[q]: And it is to be obſerved, that *Chriſtopher* and *Sergius* were, as the ruling Miniſters, the chief Authors of all the Cruelties, that were practiſed upon the Antipope *Conſtantine*, and all, who adhered to him, many of whom were ſhut up in Monaſteries,

Whom he ſeizes, and uſes with great Barbarity.

[q] Anaſt. in Steph. III. & Hadrian.

as

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as we have ſeen, after they had been moſt barbarouſly deprived of their Sight, a Puniſhment ſcarce ever uſed, before their Time, in the Weſt. Their having therefore undergone the very ſame Puniſhment may be looked upon as a juſt Retaliation, and would have been conſtrued by *Baronius* into a manifeſt Judgment, had they been Iconoclaſts, or no Friends to the Pope.

The Pope excuſes the King in his Letter to Charlemagne,

The Account, which the Pope himſelf gives of this Matter in a Letter he wrote to Queen *Bertrad* and her Son *Charlemagne*, is very different from that, which we read in *Anaſtaſius*. For in that Letter the Pope tells them, that *Chriſtopher* and *Sergius* had, in Concert with *Dodo*, the Embaſſador of *Carloman*, conſpired againſt his Life, and broken into the *Lateran* Palace, nay and into the *Baſilic* itſelf with a Deſign to murder him; that he had, with the utmoſt Difficulty, eſcaped their Fury, and taken Refuge in the Church of St. *Peter*, from whence he had ſent two Biſhops to command *Chriſtopher* and *Sergius*, in his Name, to repair to him, which they refuſing to do, the People, acquainted with their wicked Deſign, had ſeized them, and carried them to him by Force; that the incenſed Populace were for tearing them in Pieces; that he, to ſave them, had attempted to get them brought into the City in the Dead of the Night; but that they had unfortunately fallen into the Hands of their Enemies, who had put out their Eyes, he calls God to witneſs, without his Conſent, or even his Privity. He adds, that he owes his Life to the Protection of God and St. *Peter*, and after them to his moſt excellent Son *Deſiderius*, King of the *Lombards*, who happened very luckily to be then at *Rome*, and who, he ſays, had entirely ſatisfied him as to all his Demands[r].

which was probably dictated by the King of the Lombards.

As on the one Hand it appears not only from the Account of *Anaſtaſius*, but from the whole Conduct of *Chriſtopher* and *Sergius*, that, far from conſpiring againſt the Pope, or affecting the Sovereignty of *Rome*, they had nothing ſo much at Heart as the Intereſt and Welfare of the Apoſtolic See; and on the other it is very certain, that when the Pope wrote that Letter not one of the many Places he claimed had been yet delivered up to him, *Le Coint* is of Opinion[s], and ſo is F. *Pagi*[t], that the Letter was dictated by the King, while the Pope was ſtill in his Power, and kept by him, in a Manner, Priſoner in the *Vatican*. As to what is ſaid there of *Dodo*,

[r] Cod. Carolin. ep. 46. Bar. ad ann. 770. n. 2.

[s] Le Coint. ad ann. 769. n. 7.

[t] Pagi Crit.

the

the Embaſſador of *Carloman*, he might, ſay theſe Writers, have joined the two Miniſters, who were Friends to *France*, againſt *Paul* and his Party, who favoured the *Lombards*, and together with them broken into the *Lateran*, as has been related above. The ſame Authors add, that as *Charlemagne* could not but condemn the Conduct of *Dodo* as repreſented in that Letter, *Deſiderius* hoped by that means to foment and encreaſe the Miſunderſtanding that ſubſiſted, at this Time, between the two Brothers, and thus divert them from uniting their Forces againſt him in Favour of the Pope. However that be, it is agreed on all Hands, that ſeveral Untruths were advanced by the Pope in that Letter. Year of Chriſt 769.

Deſiderius having thus removed out of the way the two Miniſters, whom he looked upon as his Enemies, and the Enemies of his Nation, returned to his Capital; whither he was ſoon followed by two Legates ſent by the Pope to challenge the Performance of the Promiſe he had made, and ſworn upon the Tomb of St. *Peter* to obſerve. They met with a very cold Reception from the King, who interrupting them as ſoon as they mentioned the Treaty of *Pavia* and his Promiſe, What Treaty, ſaid he, what Promiſe? Does not his Holineſs owe more to me than I owe to him? Have I not delivered him from imminent Deſtruction and the People of *Rome* from imminent Slavery? And is this his Gratitude? And does he thus repay ſuch eminent Services? But if he has ſo quickly forgotten the Obligations he owes me, he will ſoon be obliged to court my Protection and Favour anew. The Treatment, which *Chriſtopher* and *Sergius*, who were under the Protection of *Carloman* and acted by his Order, have met with, has highly provoked that Prince; and he will ſoon appear in *Italy* at the Head of an Army to revenge it. The *Lombards* alone are able to withſtand him; and his Holineſs has no other poſſible Means of eſcaping the impending Vengeance but by recurring to them. He then propoſed an Alliance between the Apoſtolic See and the *Lombards*, magnified the Advantages, that would accrue from ſuch an Alliance to both, and pretending great Zeal for the Safety of the Pope, whom, he ſaid, *Carloman* was determined to carry with him, as his Priſoner, into *France*, entreated the Legates to perſuade his Holineſs to accept, before the *French* had entered *Italy* and it was too late, the Offer he made of his Alliance and Friendſhip[u].

The King of the Lombards *refuſes to perform the Promiſe he had made to the Pope.*

Strives to perſuade him to enter into an Alliance with the Lombards.

[u] Anaſt. in Hadrian.

Charlemagne

Year of Christ 769.

The Pope at a Loss what Measures to pursue.

Charlemagne and *Carloman* were quarrelling, at this very Time, about their respective Shares of the Dominions of their Father, who had, by his Will, divided them between them; the People of *Aquitaine*, but very lately subdued by *Pepin*, had revolted upon the News of his Death, and *Thassilo*, Duke of *Bavaria*, had already begun to act more like a Sovereign than a Vassal, and seemed strongly inclined to shake off the Yoke. Neither *Charlemagne* therefore nor *Carloman* could think of marching an Army, at this Juncture, into *Italy*. But *Desiderius* proposed, by thus alarming the Pope, to frighten him into an Alliance with him; which he knew would disoblige the *French*; and he might, by that means, be abandoned by them, and left entirely at the Mercy of the *Lombards*. The Report of the Legates perplexed the Pope beyond Expression. *Paul*, and those of his Party, pressed him to agree to the proposed Alliance, and to put himself, without Delay, under the Protection of the *Lombards*, who were near at hand to protect and defend him against all his Enemies. Others loudly declared against his hearkening to any Proposals whatever from that Quarter, advising him steadily to adhere, at all Events, to the *French*; and the Pope, being himself no deep Politician, was quite at a Loss what Measures to pursue. But from this Perplexity he was soon delivered by a solemn, and as seasonable as unexpected an Embassy from *France*. It consisted of a Bishop, an Abbot, and two Lords of great Distinction; and they were sent by the two Kings to impart to his Holiness the agreeable News of their entire Reconciliation, and assure him, at the same Time, that they were determined to maintain St. *Peter* and him, against the *Greeks* as well as the *Lombards*, in the quiet Possession of all the Places their Father had given them. The Pope had assured the Queen and her Son *Charlemagne*, in his Letter to them mentioned above, that the King of the *Lombards* had entirely satisfied him as to all his Demands. That the two Kings seem to have taken for granted; and therefore supposing his Holiness already possessed of the Places he claimed, they only signified to him, at present, their Resolution of maintaining him undisturbed in the Possession of those Places. But the Pope took care to undeceive them, assuring them, as his Holiness was not, on this Occasion, ashamed to give himself the Lie, by a Letter, which he wrote to both Kings on the Return of their Embassadors, that the perfidious King (to whom he had owned himself in his former Letter indebted for his Life) had yet complied with none

Delivered from all Perplexity by a solemn Embassy from Charles *and* Carloman.

Year of Christ 770.

of his Demands, and begging they would give no ſort of Credit to any, who ſhould tell them, that he had, notwithſtanding all his Promiſes, delivered up, to that Day, a ſingle Village, nay or a Foot of Ground to St. *Peter*. In the ſame Letter, after congratulating his two moſt Chriſtian Sons upon their Reconciliation, which he is confident will redound to the Exaltation of their holy Mother the Church, he conjures them over and over again by that God, who has placed them on the Throne, to cauſe Juſtice to be done, and to be done without Delay, to St. *Peter* and his Vicar: Reminds them of the Promiſe they made together with their Father of *holy Memory*; exhorts them to tread in his Foot-ſteps, and laſtly begs them ſeriouſly to reflect on the Account they muſt one Day give, at the tremendous Tribunal of Chriſt, to the Prince of the Apoſtles, (not to Chriſt), if they neglect or even delay putting that Apoſtle and his Vicar in Poſſeſſion of every Inch of Ground, that was given and conſecrated to them by the great and moſt religious King their Father [w]. Thus the Pope: But as notwithſtanding the boaſted Reconciliation, ſome Remains were ſtill left of the ancient Jealouſy between the two Brothers, neither thought it adviſeable to engage, at this Juncture, for the Sake of the Pope, in a War with the *Lombards*, who, they knew, would not comply with his Demands unleſs forced to it by an unſucceſsful War.

Year of Chriſt 770.

Complains in his Letter to them of the King of the Lombards.

But both decline breaking at preſent with the Lombards.

And now the King of the *Lombards*, deſpairing of being able to take the Pope off from his Attachment to the *French*, reſolved to leave nothing unattempted to take the *French* off from their Attachment to the Pope. With that View he cauſed Propoſals to be privately made of a Marriage between his Son *Adalgiſus* and the Princeſs *Giſel*, Siſter to the two Kings; and at the ſame time offered his Daughter *Deſideria* in Marriage to either of thoſe Princes. This he thought the moſt effectual Means of cloſely uniting the two Families; and he did not at all doubt but that he ſhould be able, if the propoſed Alliances took Place, to divert the two Kings from inſiſting on the Execution, at leaſt on the full Execution, of the Treaty of *Pavia*. There was no Impediment to obſtruct the Marriage of *Adalgiſus* and *Giſel*; and but one to obſtruct that of *Deſideria* with either of the Princes, *viz.* that both were married and their Wives were living. But that, in thoſe Days of Ignorance, was ſcarce looked upon, at leaſt in *France*, as an Impediment, as appears from

A Marriage propoſed by the King of the Lombards *between his Son and the Siſter of the two Kings, and between his Daughter and either of them.*

[w] Cod. Carol. ep. 47.

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the many Divorces we read of in that and the two following Centuries, nay and from the Decisions of a Council held in *France* but a few Years before (H). The abovementioned Proposals were, it seems, secretly made to Queen *Bertrad*, the Mother of the two Princes, to whose Counsels great Deference was paid, as the King of the *Lombards* well knew, in all Matters of Moment by both, especially by *Charlemagne*; and she not only hearkened to them with great Joy, but undertook to bring the intended Alliance about. Her thus so readily engaging in such an Undertaking was owing to her Zeal for the Welfare of her Children and the Good of the Kingdom. She was sensible, that the Reconciliation between the two Brothers, would be but of a very short Duration, *Carloman*, who was naturally of a restless and turbulent Temper, being still dissatisfied with the Share allotted him of his Father's Dominions. Besides, she knew that he was encouraged and animated underhand against his Brother by the King of the *Lombards*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Son-in-law of that King (for he had married *Lutberg* the King's other Daughter) with a Design of kindling a Civil War in the Bowels of *France*. The Queen therefore, satisfied that she could by no other Means more effectually prevail upon those Princes to abandon *Carloman*, and side with *Charlemagne*, than by persuading the latter to

Charlemagne *is persuaded by the Queen to marry the King's Daughter.*

(H) The Council held in 753. at *Verberie*, a royal Villa in the Neighbourhood of *Compiegne*. By that Council Divorces were allowed in the following Cases: If the Wife conspired against the Life of her Husband; if either was a Slave, but thought free at the Time of the Marriage by the other; if the Wife refused to accompany her Husband, when obliged to remove from one Country to another, or from one Place of the Country to another; if the Husband was found to have had a criminal Conversation with his Wife's Sister, or her Mother; if he had never had any Commerce with his Wife, whether that was owing to Aversion, or to Impotency; if both being Slaves, the Husband should obtain his Liberty and not the Wife. In all these Cases the Party was allowed to marry again (1). In more ancient Times Divorces were, in many Cases, allowed by the Imperial Laws, but by the Ecclesiastical Laws only in the Case of Adultery, or of malicious Desertion. Whether, after a lawful Divorce, the Husband might marry again, during the Life-time of his divorced Wife, or the Wife, during the Life-time of her divorced Husband? is a Question, that has divided both Councils and Fathers. Such Marriages were allowed in some Churches and forbidden in others; but of these different Practices the Reader will find a curious and learned Account in the Notes upon *Hermes Pastor* by *Cotelerius* (2). I shall only observe here, that Marriages of Children under Age, without the Consent of their Parents or their Guardians, were null by the Laws both of the Church and the Empire; that Slaves or Nurses, who had been anyways instrumental in bringing such Marriages about, were to be burnt alive or to have melted Lead poured down their Throats, and that the Man was to be punished as guilty of Fornication and the Woman as a Harlot (3).

(1) Sirmond. Concil. Gallic. tom. 2.
(2) Coteler. Patres Apostol, t. 1. p. 88.
(3) Cod. Theodos. l. 9, tit. 24. & l. 3. tit. 7, &c.

marry

marry the Daughter of the one and the Sister-in-law of the other, earneſtly entreated and preſſed him to agree to that Marriage; and he agreed to it accordingly. Year of Chriſt 770.

Of this Negotiation, how ſecretly ſoever carried on, the Pope was ſoon informed; and no ſooner was he informed of it, than he reſolved to oppoſe it to the utmoſt of his Power, to exert all his Apoſtolic Authority, and leave nothing unattempted to defeat the *wicked* Meaſures and Deſigns of the Queen; wicked, becauſe likely to prove, in the End, prejudicial to the temporal Intereſt of his See, tho' intended to unite two Chriſtian Princes, and prevent, by their Union, deſtructive Wars, and the Effuſion of much Chriſtian Blood. In the ſame Manner, and upon the ſame Principle, that of Self-intereſt, Pope *Paul* oppoſed, as we have ſeen[x], the intended Alliance and Union between *France* and the Empire, as unlawful and wicked; and this has been, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel, the Policy of the Popes ſince the Time they were firſt poſſeſſed of temporal Dominions to the preſent, to proſtitute their Authority, and with their Authority all Faith, Morality and Religion, to worldly Views; to preach Concord and Diſcord among Chriſtian Princes as they found it turn moſt to their Intereſt to preach the one or the other; and to chuſe that the World ſhould rather be deluged in Chriſtian Blood than that they ſhould forego, or run the Riſque of foregoing the leaſt temporal Advantage. In the preſent Caſe Pope *Stephen*, no leſs alarmed at the Meaſures that were taken to eſtabliſh a good Underſtanding between the *French* and the *Lombards*, than if the Whole of the Faith and the Chriſtian Religion had depended upon a Miſunderſtanding between thoſe two Nations, diſpatched in great Haſte two Legates into *France* with a Letter to both the young Princes, to divert them, with Prayers, Menaces, Anathemas, and all the Motives and Reaſons he could think of, from the intended Alliance, or any kind of Connection whatever with the wicked, perfidious, and accurſed Nation of the *Lombards*.

The Pope oppoſes the Match,

and ſtrives to divert the two Princes from the intended Alliance.

This Letter he begins with informing the two Kings, that the Author of our Race, the firſt Man (ſo far he goes back) was ſeduced by a Woman; that Death and the numberleſs Evils Mankind now groan under were all brought into the World by a Woman; that Women are the Inſtruments and Tools of the Devil; and therefore exhorts the young Princes to be upon their Guard, and not ſuffer

His Letter to them.

[x] See above, p. 9.

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their Hearts to be enſnared and captivated by their Charms. Thus far he abuſes Women in general; and one would think he intended to inſpire Men with an Averſion to all Women, even to their Wives. In the next Place he tells the Kings, that he has heard, with the deepeſt Concern, that the King of the *Lombards* was negotiating a Marriage between one of them and his Daughter; expreſſes great Surprize at the conſummate Wickedneſs of thoſe, who have dared to propoſe ſuch a Match; and wonders that his moſt Chriſtian Sons ſhould have ſuffered ſuch a Propoſal to be made, or ſhould not have rejected it, as ſoon as it was made, with the utmoſt Indignation and Horror. He then paints the *Lombards* as of all Nations the moſt wicked, the moſt perfidious, the moſt deſpicable; as a Herd of Savages ſcarce deſerving the Name of a Nation; as a People accurſed of God and bearing the viſible Marks of that Curſe in the Plague of Leproſy common among them; as of all the Nations on the Earth by far the moſt unworthy of ſo great an Honour, as that of being allied to the *French*, of all Nations the greateſt, the moſt religious, the moſt illuſtrious, the moſt glorious, and as much above, as the *Lombards* are below, the reſt of Mankind. And what Fellowſhip, ſays he, has Righteouſneſs with Unrighteouſneſs? What Communion has Light with Darkneſs? He adds, that the *Lombards* are a ſtrange Nation with reſpect to the *French*, and that Marriages with ſtrange Women, or Women of ſtrange Nations, are frequently condemned in the Scriptures; thus ignorantly or wickedly perverting the Senſe of the Scripture, as if Men were there forbidden to marry Women of a different Nation from their own, tho' profeſſing the ſame Faith and Religion with their own. In the ſecond Place he alleges againſt the propoſed Marriage what he ought to have alleged in the firſt, and indeed what alone could, in the preſent Caſe, be of any Weight; *viz.* that both Princes were already married, and that Chriſtians are not allowed to have two Wives at a Time, or to put one away at Pleaſure, and take another to their Bed in her Room. Here he tells them, that King *Pepin*, their Father, had once propoſed to divorce their Mother, but that Pope *Stephen*, his holy Predeceſſor, repreſenting to him the Enormity of that Crime, he had laid aſide ſo impious a Thought, and lived happily with her to the Day of his Death; exhorts them to follow, like dutiful Children, the Example of their Father, and above all Things to avoid, as they tendered the Protection and Favour of St. *Peter*, having any kind of Con-

Connexion with the accurſed Nation of the *Lombards*, the avowed Enemies of that Apoſtle and his favourite People. The reſt of the Letter is filled with heavy Complaints againſt the *Lombards*, and he cloſes it with entreating and conjuring the two Kings over and over again to hearken to his Admonitions, and threatening them, if they did not, with the Indignation of St. *Peter*, and in conſequence thereof with eternal Damnation. "If any one, ſays he, ſhall pre-
"ſume to act contrary to this our Admonition, we declare him, by
"the Authority of our Lord St. *Peter*, deprived for ever of the
"Protection of that Apoſtle, anathematized, excluded from the
"Kingdom of Heaven, and deſtined to burn eternally in Hell-fire
"with the Devil[y]." This Letter the Pope laid on the Tomb of St. *Peter*, and having there celebrated Divine Service, ſent it from thence, by the two Legates, into *France*. Year of Chriſt 770.

The Queen however prevails on Charles *to agree to the Match.*

But neither the Reaſons alleged by the Pope againſt the propoſed Marriage (which were indeed all abſurd and ridiculous, except the Unlawfulneſs of Divorce, and Divorces were allowed at this Time on the moſt trifling Occaſions in *France*) nor his Entreaties, Menaces, Anathemas, were capable of diverting the Queen from purſuing a Deſign, that appeared to her the beſt calculated of any to maintain the Tranquillity and Peace of the Kingdom: Nay, ſo much had ſhe at Heart the bringing it to a happy Iſſue, that, truſting no other, ſhe undertook to manage the whole Matter herſelf. Having accordingly perſuaded her eldeſt Son *Charles* to conſent to the Match, notwithſtanding all the Remonſtrances of the Pope, and his Legates againſt it, ſhe ſet out for *Italy* to ſettle, in Perſon, with the King of the *Lombards*, the Terms of the intended Alliance. She had an Interview with her Son *Carloman* at a Place called *Saloſſa*; and from thence ſhe repaired to the Court of *Bavaria* to divert that Duke from attempting to ſhake off the Yoke, which he, depending on the Aſſiſtance and Friendſhip of the *Lombards*, ſeemed ſtrongly inclined to attempt. From the Court of *Bavaria* ſhe purſued her Journey to that of *Pavia*, and having there ſettled the Marriage-articles to her entire Satisfaction, and the entire Satisfaction of the King, ſhe reſolved to try, before ſhe left *Italy*, whether his Holineſs might not be prevailed upon, by ſome Means or other, if not openly to approve, at leaſt not to oppoſe her Deſign. With that View ſhe continued her Journey to *Rome*, was received there by the Pope, the Year of Chriſt 771.

y. Cod. Carolin. ep. 48.

Clergy,

Year of Christ 771.

Clergy, and the People, as the Widow of *Pepin* and the Mother of the two *French* Kings, with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction; and had, during her Stay in that City, ſeveral private Conferences with the Pope; the Reſult of which ſeems to have been, that his Holineſs ſhould no longer oppoſe the deſigned Marriage, and that the King of the *Lombards* ſhould, in conſideration thereof, deliver up, before his Daughter ſet out for *France*, certain Places, which he had hitherto witheld from the Apoſtolic See, and ſolemnly engage to live thenceforth in Peace and Amity with the Pope and the People of *Rome*. This, I ſay, ſeems to have been the Reſult of thoſe Conferences; it being certain, that *Deſiderius* delivered up ſeveral Places to the Pope at the Requeſt of the Queen, while ſhe was yet in *Italy*; that ſhe ſet out, as ſoon as the Pope was put in Poſſeſſion of them, on her Return to *France* with the King's Daughter; that on her Arrival *Charlemagne*, divorcing his lawful Wife, married her[z], and that no further Oppoſition is ſaid to have been made to that Marriage either by the Pope or his Legates. Thus what was an *enormous Crime*, when likely to prove prejudicial to the Intereſt of the Apoſtolic See, became no Crime, or a Crime to be connived at, when it turned to Advantage of that See (I).

and on the Pope not to oppoſe it.

[z] Vet. Annal. & Annal. Petav. ad Ann. 770. Eginard. in vit. Carol.

(I) Some to excuſe the Pope firſt condemning that Marriage as *an enormous Crime*, and afterwards approving, or at leaſt not diſapproving it, would make us believe, that the firſt Marriage of *Charles* was null; that the Pope was not acquainted therewith when he condemned his ſecond Marriage as a Crime, but was when he approved it, having been aſſured of its Nullity by the Queen: And it was, ſay they, to gratify her, after ſhe had prevailed on the King of the *Lombards* to yield to him the Places he claimed, that he conſented at laſt to that Match. But the contemporary Hiſtorians all ſuppoſe the firſt Marriage of *Charles* to have been a true Marriage, and ſpeak of his Divorce as a Thing, that gave great Offence. *Paſchaſius Ratbertus* among the reſt, an Author of great Note, who flouriſhed about the Middle of the next Century, and wrote the Life of St. *Adalhard*, the Brother of *Pepin*, and Uncle of the two Kings, tells us, that all good Men were greatly ſcandalized at the King's putting away his lawful Wife *without any juſt Cauſe* and marrying another, and that *Adalhard* in particular was ſhocked to ſuch a Degree at ſo wicked an Action, that quitting a Court, where ſuch Wickedneſs was countenanced, and with it the World, he retired to a Monaſtery, tho' at that Time only in the 20th Year of his Age(1). Beſides, it was not only becauſe *Charles* was already married that the Pope oppoſed his Marriage with the Daughter of *Deſiderius*; but becauſe ſhe was, according to him, a *ſtrange Woman*, and Marriages with ſtrange Women are condemned in Scripture. And how will they excuſe his Holineſs conſenting to a Match, which he had condemned on that Account? Did the Queen remove that Scruple too, and teach the infallible Interpreter of the Scripture the true Meaning of the Scripture?

(1) Paſch. in Vit. S. Adal. apud Mabill. ſecul. 4. Benedictin. part 1.

Of this Pope no further mention is made till the Time of his Death, which happened on the second of *February* 772, after he had governed the *Roman* Church three Years, five Months, and twenty Days[a].

Stephen *dies.* Year of Christ 772.

CONSTANTINE, LEO, CONSTANTINE-PORPHYROGENITUS, IRENE.

HADRIAN,

DESIDERIUS, *King of the* Lombards.

Ninety-fourth BISHOP *of* Rome.

STEPHEN was succeeded by *Hadrian* or *Adrian*, chosen and ordained after a Vacancy of seven Days, and consequently on the 9th of *February*, which, in the present Year 772, fell on a Sunday, the Day, on which Bishops, especially the Popes, were commonly ordained. *Hadrian* was a Native of *Rome*, descended from one of the most illustrious Families of that City; and he is highly commended by *Anastasius* for his extraordinary Piety, uncommon Learning, engaging Behaviour, excellent Parts, and even for the Majesty of his Mien, and the Comliness of his Person. He had passed, with great Reputation, through all the inferior Degrees, and was Cardinal Deacon of the holy *Roman* Church, when the People and Clergy raised him with one Voice to the See[b]. On the very Day of his Election, *Anastasius* says, the very Hour he was elected, he recalled all, whom *Paul Asiarta* had sent into Exile, during the Illness of the late Pope; and set at Liberty such as were kept by him confined in the different Jails, that is, all the leading Men of the *French* Party in *Rome*: So forward was he in declaring his Resolution of cultivating the Friendship of the *French* Princes and Nation.

Hadrian *chosen. His Birth, Education, &c.*

And truly he soon had Occasion for the Favour and Assistance of such powerful Protectors. For scarce had he taken Possession of the See, when a Misunderstanding arose between him and the King of the *Lombards*, which, had not the *French* interposed in his Behalf, would, in all Likelihood, have proved as fatal to him and the *Roman* People as it proved in the End to that unhappy Nation. It arose on the following Occasion. Queen *Bertrad* had persuaded her Son *Charlemagne*, as has been related above, to marry the Daughter

Charlemagne *divorces the Daughter of the King of the* Lombards,

[a] Anast. in Steph. 3. [b] Idem in Adrian.

of

Year of Christ 772.

of the King of the *Lombards*, as the moſt effectual Means of taking off that Prince from his Connexion with *Carloman*, and engaging him in the Intereſt of *Charlemagne*. But *Carloman* dying ſoon after that Marriage, and *Charlemagne*, who diſliked his new Wife, thinking, as he became by the Death of his Brother ſole Maſter of the whole *French* Monarchy, that he had no further Occaſion for an Alliance with the King of the *Lombards*, divorced his Daughter, and marrying *Hildegard*, a Princeſs of *Suevia*, in her room, ſent her back to her Father (I). *Deſiderius*, highly provoked at the Treatment his Daughter had met with, reſolved to revenge it. He had then at his Court *Gilberg*, the Widow of *Carloman*, and his two Sons, both yet Infants. For *Gilberg*, apprehending that *Charlemagne*, prompted by his Ambition, might either deſtroy both her and them, if he got them into his Power, or at leaſt cauſe them to be ſhut up in a Monaſtery, had abandoned the Kingdom upon the Death of her Husband, and taken Refuge with her Children in the Court of *Deſiderius*. The King had received them with open Arms, and entertained them, as well as the many *French* Lords, who had attended them in their Flight, in a Manner ſutable to their reſpective Ranks, merely, as he pretended and declared at that Time, out of the Regard he owed to the Memory of his deceaſed Friend and Ally. But on the preſent Occaſion he reſolved openly to eſpouſe their Cauſe, to acknowlege them for the lawful Heirs of their Father's Kingdom, which *Charlemagne* had ſeized upon their Flight, and to attempt, by ſtirring up their Friends in *France*, to form there a Party in their Favour and kindle a Civil War in the Bowels of that Kingdom. This he thought he ſhould eaſily accompliſh provided he could prevail on the new Pope to engage in the ſame Cauſe, and perſuade him not only to take the Children of *Carloman* into his Protection, but to anoint them Kings of their Father's Kingdom. With that View he ſent, as ſoon as he heard of the Election of *Hadrian*, a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Rome* to congratulate him on his Promotion, to aſſure him of his Friendſhip, and at the ſame Time to recommend to him, as the Father of the Diſtreſſed, the diſtreſſed Widow and deſtitute Children of *Carloman*. The Embaſſadors omitted nothing

who ſtrives to engage the Pope on his Side to revenge that Affront.

(I) From his not recalling, on this Occaſion, his firſt Wife *Himiltrude*, Authors generally conclude that ſhe was dead; as if *Charlemagne*, who had not ſcrupled to marry a ſecond Wife while his firſt Wife was living, would have ſcrupled to marry a third.

they

they thought capable of making an Impreſſion on the Mind of the Pope, and awakening his Compaſſion for the Children of a Prince, to whom his See owed, in great meaſure, its Grandeur. They repreſented to him, in the ſtrongeſt Light, the crying Injuſtice of *Charlemagne* in robbing his own Brother's Children of a Kingdom, to which they had as unqueſtionable a Right as he, or his Children, had to his; exaggerated the deplorable Condition, to which his inſatiable Avarice, and unbounded Ambition had reduced them; put his Holineſs in mind of the extraordinary Regard their Father *Carloman* had always ſhown and profeſſed for the Apoſtolic See, and aſſuring him that whatever Aſſiſtance he ſhould lend to them the King of the *Lombards* would look upon it as lent to himſelf, they entreated him, in the moſt pathetic Terms, to pity their unhappy Situation, and generouſly undertake, in Conjunction with their Maſter, who had nothing in his View but the Relief of the diſtreſſed, their Defence and Protection[c]. Year of Chriſt 772.

Hadrian was a Man of too much Penetration not to be appriſed of the true Deſigns of the King. He pitied the forlorn Condition of the Children of *Carloman*: But ſenſible that ſhould he take them into his Protection and anoint them Kings of their Father's Kingdom, he would thereby highly diſoblige his Protector *Charlemagne*, and be abandoned by him to the Mercy of the *Lombards*, he made his Compaſſion give way to his Intereſt, and not only declined entring, at ſo critical a Juncture, into any Engagements with the King, but to earn the Favour of *Charlemagne* privately acquainted him with the Deſigns, that the King, the Widow of *Carloman*, and the *French* Lords, who had attended her in her Flight, were hatching againſt him in Favour of his Nephews. However to gain time, as *Charlemagne* was then engaged in a War with the *Saxons*, the Pope pretended to hearken to the Propoſals of the Embaſſadors, told them that he had nothing ſo much at Heart as to live in Friendſhip and Amity with his Neighbours the *Lombards*; that he was ready to do every thing they could in Reaſon and Juſtice require of him; but that as their Maſter had, in the Pontificate of his Predeceſſor, ſeized on ſeveral Places in Defiance of the moſt ſolemn Treaties, they could not well blame him for inſiſting, firſt of all, on the Reſtitution of the ſaid Places, as a Pledge of his pacific Diſpoſition and the Sincerity of his Intentions; that as ſoon as they were reſtored, he would ſend,

The Pope adheres to Charlemagne, *and even acquaints him with the Deſigns of the* Lombards.

His Anſwer to the King's Embaſſadors.

[c] Idem ibid.

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if agreeable to the King, Legates to *Pavia* vested with full Powers to conclude, upon his own Terms, a Treaty of Friendship and Peace between the *Lombards* and the *Romans* [d].

The King of the Lombards *invades the Exarchate.*

Desiderius, finding that the new Pope was not to be gained, as his Predecessor had been, with fair Words, Protestations and Promises, resolved, as he had no Thoughts of parting with the Places he had taken, to recur to Violence and Force. He entered accordingly the Territory of *Ravenna*, made himself Master of several Places there, laid the Country every-where waste, and suffering no kind of Provisions to be conveyed into the City, reduced the Citizens to the utmost Extremity. In that Condition they applied for Relief to the Pope, who immediately wrote to the King to put him in mind of the Promise he had very lately made to live in Friendship and Peace with the Apostolic See, and entreat him, as he tendered his Reputation and Character, to forbear Hostilities so repugnant to his Protestations and Promises, so unjust in themselves, and so unworthy of a Christian Prince. The King answered, that he was ready to withdraw his Troops, to forbear Hostilities, and to live in Peace with the Pope and the *Romans* upon one Condition, and one Condition alone, *viz.* that he acknowleged and anointed, in his Presence, the two Sons of *Carloman* Kings of their Father's Kingdom. He added, that those unhappy Children had an indisputable Right to the Dominions of their Father, as his Holiness well knew, and that his refusing to acknowlege that Right, by anointing them Kings, was in effect countenancing, and declaring to the World that he countenanced the Usurper in his unjust Usurpation. The Pope, determined to do nothing he thought could give the least Umbrage to *Charlemagne*, still kept to his former Answer, assuring the King that he was ready to do every Thing that lay in his Power to oblige him, but insisting, at the same Time, on his restoring the Places he had taken before he would enter into any new Engagements with him or his Nation [e].

Promises to forbear Hostilities upon the Pope's anointing the Sons of Carloman *Kings of their Father's Kingdom.*

The King redoubles his Hostilities upon the Pope's refusing to comply with his Demand.

The King was highly provoked at this Answer, but still more at the Death of his zealous Partizan *Paul Asiarta*, that happened at this Time. *Paul* to be revenged on the Pope, who had driven him out of *Rome*, had undertaken to return to that City; to reanimate the *Lombard* Faction, that was there still very powerful, and even to seize the Pope himself, and deliver him up in Chains to the *Lombards*. But *Hadrian*, receiving timely Intelligence of his Design, and

[d] Anast. in Hadrian. [e] Idem ibid. Eginhard. in vit. Carol.

the

the Rout he was to take, ſent a private Order to *Leo*, Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, to arreſt and confine him. The Archbiſhop was not ſatisfied with executing that Order; but having got the unhappy Wretch into his Power, he cauſed him after a ſhort Confinement to be put to Death, contrary, ſays *Anaſtaſius*, to the declared Intention and expreſs Command of the Pope. The King, upon the News of his Death, redoubled his Hoſtilities, his Parties advancing to the very Gates of *Rome*, and putting to the Sword or carrying into Captivity all, who fell into their Hands. But nothing could make *Hadrian* depart from the Reſolution he had taken of entring into no Engagements with the *Lombards*, that might give the leaſt Jealouſy or Occaſion of Complaint to the *French*. He was greatly affected with the Calamities of the unhappy People expoſed to the Inſults and the Fury of the mercileſs *Lombards*; but at the ſame Time determined to take no Step for their Relief, that appeared to him inconſiſtent with his Intereſt, when the King offered to withdraw his Troops and put an End to all Hoſtilities the very Moment he gave the royal Unction to the Sons of *Carloman*, he returned Anſwer, that the King was by former Treaties and repeated Promiſes bound to forbear Hoſtilities; that he had, by an open Breach of thoſe Treaties and in Defiance of the moſt ſolemn Promiſes, ſeized on ſeveral Places belonging to the Apoſtolic See, and could not therefore well require the holy See to truſt to his Preſent till he had fully executed his former Promiſes by withdrawing his Troops, and reſtoring all the Places he had taken. Year of Chriſt 772.

The Pope was ſenſible that this Anſwer, inſtead of appeaſing the King, would provoke him beyond all meaſure; and therefore apprehending, that not ſatisfied with ravaging the Country, he might lay Siege to the City itſelf, he diſpatched, in great Haſte, a Meſſenger into *France* with a Letter to *Charlemagne* to acquaint him with the deplorable Condition to which he and the *Roman* People were reduced by the *Lombards*, and putting him in mind of the Vow he had made in his Father's Life-time never to abandon the Protection of the Succeſſors of St. *Peter*, and the Defence of his Church, earneſtly entreats him in the Name of St. *Peter* and his to haſten to their Relief purſuant to that Vow. He added, that to delay relieving him, let the Delay be ever ſo ſhort, at ſo critical a Juncture, was abandoning him to the Mercy of his implacable Enemies; and took care to let *Charlemagne* know, that it was chiefly, if not merely, on account of his inviolable Attachment to his Intereſt, and becauſe he could not *The Pope recurs to* Charlemagne.

Year of Christ 772.

be prevailed upon to anoint the Sons of *Carloman* Kings of their Father's Kingdom, and thereby concur with his Enemies in the Design they had formed of kindling a Civil War in the Bowels of his Kingdom, that he was thus cruelly persecuted by the *Lombards*. As the Passes in the *Alps* were all carefully guarded by the *Lombards*, the Messenger went by Sea, and being informed, upon his Arrival at *Marseilles*, that *Charlemagne* was at *Thionville*, he repaired thither, and delivered, pursuant to his Instructions, the Pope's Letter into his own Hands.

Charlemagne's *Answer to the Pope's Letter.*

Charlemagne being fully informed by the Messenger of the State of Affairs in *Italy*, and the Designs of the *Lombards*, remanded him, the very Day after his Arrival, with an Answer to the Pope's Letter, assuring his Holiness that he remembered, and should ever inviolably observe the Vow he had made; that he was resolved, as bound by that Vow, to march, with all Speed, to his Relief, to employ, if necessary, the whole Strength of his Kingdom in curbing the Insolence of the *Lombards*, and that he would hearken to no Treaties, since no Treaties could bind them, but strive to put them out of a Condition of disturbing hereafter him or his Successors in the Possession of the Places which his Father and he had, for the Redemption of their Souls, given to St. *Peter*. *Charlemagne* considered that the *Lombards* never would suffer the Pope quietly to enjoy the Territories, which they had taken from the Emperor, and claimed as their own by Right of Conquest; that whatever Treaties they pretended to agree to, they would observe them no longer than they found it expedient, but would lay hold of every Opportunity that offered to raise Disturbances in *Italy*, and in his own Dominions too as soon as they found him engaged in other Wars; that as they had taken into their Protection the two Sons of *Carloman*, who had no contemptible Party in *France*, such Disturbances might end, when he expected it the least, in a Civil War. Upon these Considerations he resolved not only to relieve the Pope in his present Distress, but encouraged by his late extraordinary Success against the *Saxons*, to attempt the Conquest of *Italy*, as the only effectual Means of delivering the Apostolic See and himself from so troublesome and faithless an Enemy. Pursuant to that Resolution he put, without Delay, all his Forces in Motion; appointed the City of *Geneva* for the Place of the general Rendevous, and repairing thither in Person divided, after several Councils of War, his numerous Army into two Bodies.

Bodies. The one, commanded by Duke *Bernard*, Brother of the late King *Pepin*, and natural Son of *Charles Martel*, he ordered to enter *Italy* by Mount St. *Bernard*; with the other he marched himſelf towards Mount *Cenis*[f]. Year of Chriſt 772. *He ſets out with a numerous Army for* Italy.

In the mean time the King of the *Lombards*, deſpairing of being able to perſuade the Pope to anoint the Sons of *Carloman*, reſolved to ſurpriſe him, and extort by Force, when he had him in his Power, what he could not obtain by Art or Perſuaſion. With that View he ordered ſeveral Bodies of Troops ſecretly to march, by different Ways, towards *Rome*; and privately leaving *Pavia* himſelf with his Son *Adalgiſus*, the two Sons of *Carloman*, and the Queen their Mother, he appeared unexpectedly at the Head of a powerful Army in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. The News of his Approach threw the whole City into the utmoſt Confuſion. *Hadrian* however, not forgetting, in the midſt of that Confuſion, to provide for his Defence, ſummoned the Militia of *Campania*, *Tuſcany*, and the Dukedom of *Perugia* into the City, cauſed the Gates and the Walls to be carefully guarded Night and Day, and by aſſuring the People that *Charlemagne* was haſtening, with a mighty Army, to their Relief, inſpired them with ſuch Courage, that even thoſe, who at firſt had betrayed the moſt Cowardice and Fear, were now the foremoſt in flying to Arms, and preparing for a vigorous Defence. The King, as he approached *Rome*, ſent ſome of his Officers to acquaint the Pope with his Arrival, and to beg his Holineſs would grant him an Interview, which, he ſaid, he was confident would end to the entire Satisfaction of both. To this Meſſage *Hadrian* returned the ſame Anſwer he had given to all the other Propoſals and Meſſages from the King; that he would hearken to no Propoſals whatever till all the Places he had ſeized, belonging to St. *Peter* and his Church, were reſtored; that the Reſtitution of thoſe Places was a Preliminary, which he was unalterably determined never to diſpenſe with. The King, finding the Pope thus determined, purſued his March towards *Rome*, plundering the Cities, and laying the Countries every-where waſte through which he paſſed. Hereupon the Pope, reſolved to try the Edge of his ſpiritual Weapons before he employed any other, drew up a Sentence of Excommunication in the ſtrongeſt Terms, threatening the King and all, who followed him, with immediate Vengeance from Heaven, if he preſumed to advance one Step nearer to *Rome*, or ravaged the Lands: Year of Chriſt 773. *The King of the* Lombards *attempts to ſurpriſe* Rome. *Finding the City well guarded, he begs an Interview with the Pope. The Pope's Anſwer to the King's Demand.*

[f] Anaſt. Eginhard ibid.

of

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of the Church. With this Sentence *Hadrian* diſpatched the three Biſhops of *Albano*, *Paleſtrina* and *Tivoli*; and it ſtruck the King with ſuch Terror, that, putting a Stop to all further Hoſtilities, he ſet out that Inſtant on his Return to *Pavia*. So great was the Awe even Kings and Princes ſtood in of the Anathemas of the Popes till Experience taught them, that their curſing did no more Harm to Mankind than their bleſſing did Good.

The King awed with the Threats of the Pope returns to his own Kingdom.

In the mean time *Charlemagne*, advancing with his Army to the *Alps*, found all the Paſſes and Defiles ſo well fortified, and guarded by ſuch numerous Bodies of *Lombards*, commanded by the King in Perſon and his Son *Adalgiſus*, that moſt of the Officers thought they could not be forced; that it would coſt the Loſs of the whole Army to attempt it, and were therefore of Opinion, in a Council of War that was held, that they ſhould either return to *France*, without expoſing ſo many gallant Men to certain Deſtruction, or try whether the *Lombards* might not be brought by way of Negotiation to ſatisfy the Pope. *Charlemagne* choſe the latter, none in the whole Army being more ſenſible of the Difficulty of the Enterpriſe than himſelf; and he ſent accordingly, as ſoon as the Council broke up, Embaſſadors to repreſent to the King the Juſtice of the Pope's Complaints and Demands, the Obligation the Kings of *France* were under of making good the Donation of *Pepin*, the dreadful Conſequences that would inevitably attend the War, that was upon the Point of being kindled in *Italy*, and the many Advantages, that would accrue to the *Lombard* Nation from their Friendſhip with *France*: Nay *Charlemagne* was ſo apprehenſive of the Iſſue of the preſent Undertaking, that he even offered to defray the Charges the *Lombards* had been at in their military Preparations on this Occaſion, provided they delivered up to the Pope, in compliance with the Treaty of *Pavia*, all the Places yielded by that Treaty to the Apoſtolic See. What is ſtill more, he did not inſiſt on the immediate Reſtitution of thoſe Places, but let the King know, that he was willing to allow him what Time he could reaſonably require for the Execution of the Treaty; on Condition that he delivered three Hoſtages into his Hands, the Sons of ſome of the chief Lords of his Court, as Pledges of his Sincerity: He added, that as ſoon as they arrived in his Camp, he ſhould forget all former Breaches of ſo ſolemn a Treaty, ſhould look upon the *Lombards* as his Friends and Allies, and forbearing all further Hoſtilities, march back with his Army to *France*.

Charlemagne *advances with his Army to the* Alps.

Finding the Paſſes well guarded propoſes an Accommodation.

But the more advantagious were the Offers of *Charlemagne* the more averſe was the King of the *Lombards* to accept them, concluding that they proceded from Fear, and that *Charlemagne*, aware of the Difficulty of his Undertaking and deſpairing of Succeſs, would rather chuſe to retire, if his Propoſals were not agreed to, and abandon the Pope to the Mercy of the *Lombards*, than expoſe his Army to the evident Danger of being entirely cut off to relieve him. Indeed the *French* Generals after reconnoitring the Situation of the Enemy, and carefully examining the many ſtrong Works they had raiſed in the Paſſes of the Mountains, delivered it as their Opinion, that it was impoſſible to diſlodge them, and therefore not only adviſed but jointly entreated their King not to attempt it, but reſerve his Army, the Strength and the Flower of the *French* Nation, for other leſs hazardous but more glorious Atchievements. *Charlemagne* yielded; and it was reſolved in a Council of War, that they ſhould abandon the Enterpriſe for the preſent and decamp the next Day. But Heaven interpoſed, ſays *Baronius*, and confounding the Enemies of the holy Pontiff, opened a ſafe and free Paſſage to his Friends. For that very Night the advanced Guards of the *Lombards*, ſeized unexpectedly with a Panic, retreated in the utmoſt Confuſion to the main Guard, and the main Guard, alarmed at their Fright and Confuſion, fled, in the like Fright and Confuſion, to the Army. The Terror in an Inſtant became general; and, as it commonly happens in ſuch Caſes, all fled, leaving their Tents and their Baggage behind them, tho' nobody could tell why. The King, the Prince and the other Officers did all that lay in their Power to reanimate the affrighted Soldiery, and ſtop them in their Flight; but they were themſelves carried away by the flying Multitude. Hereupon the King threw himſelf, with the Flower of his Troops, into *Pavia*, and his Son *Adalgiſus* with the two Sons of *Carloman*, the Queen their Mother, and a *French* Lord named *Ancair*, into *Verona*. Had *Charlemagne* out of a Principle of Juſtice, made War on the *Lombards* to reinſtate the Emperor in thoſe Dominions, who alone had a Right, and an unqueſtionable Right to them, I ſhould not quarrel with *Baronius* for aſcribing the Panic and ſudden Flight of the *Lombards* to the miraculous Interpoſition of Heaven. But as the Pope had no better Right to thoſe Territories than the *Lombards*, that is, no Right at all; nay as they belonged in Juſtice to his liege Lord and Sovereign, and he could not conſequently claim them without being guilty of Treaſon

Year of Chriſt 773.

His Propoſals rejected.

He reſolves to decamp and return to France.

The Lombards *ſeized with a Panic, betake themſelves to a diſorderly Flight.*

Their Flight aſcribed by Baronius *to the Interpoſition of Heaven.*

Year of Chriſt 773.

Treaſon and Rebellion, to ſuppoſe that Heaven miraculouſly interpoſed in his Favour is ſuppoſing Heaven to have miraculouſly interpoſed in Favour of a Traitor and a Rebel, and thereby countenanced Rebellion and Treaſon.

Pavia *beſieged by* Charlemagne.

Charlemagne, ſeeing the next Morning, to his great Surpriſe, the Paſſes all open and unguarded, entered them at firſt, not without Fear of ſome Ambuſcade; but finding that the *Lombards* were all retired, he detached ſeveral Parties after them, and advancing himſelf with the main Body of the Army to *Pavia*, inveſted it on all Sides, and began to batter the Walls with incredible Fury. But as the Town abounded with all manner of Proviſions, was well fortified, and defended by the King in Perſon, by a numerous Gariſon, and a great many Officers, among whom was *Hunald*, Duke of *Aquitaine* (K), the *French*, notwithſtanding all their Efforts, made but very little Progreſs in the Siege. *Charlemagne* therefore, changing the Siege into a Blockade, marched with Part of his Army to attempt the Reduction of *Verona*; and he no ſooner appeared before that Place, than the Widow of *Carloman*, ſenſible ſhe could not avoid falling at laſt into his Hands, begged Leave of *Adalgiſus* to go out with her Children, and deliver herſelf up to him, flattering herſelf, that the Confidence, ſhe thereby ſeemed to repoſe in him, would recommend both her and her Children to his Mercy. Her Requeſt was readily granted; and ſhe, repairing accordingly to the Camp, threw herſelf, with her Children, at the Feet of her Brother-in-law. But what Reception ſhe met with; what afterwards became of her and her Children, Hiſtory has not informed us. Had they been kindly received; had *Charlemagne* ſhown, on this Occaſion, the leaſt Generoſity, I cannot perſuade myſelf that the contemporary Writers, who have omitted nothing, that could any-ways redound to his Glory, would have all paſſed it over in Silence. As no mention is thenceforth made of that unhappy Princeſs and her unfortunate Children, it would not perhaps be abſurd to ſuppoſe, that they were ſoon removed, by ſome means or other, out of the way.

The Widow of Carloman *delivers herſelf and her Children up to* Charlemagne.

(K) *Hunald*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, had attempted to recover his Dukedom, which *Charlemagne* had ſeized; but, being utterly defeated in the Attempt, he took Refuge in the Court of *Lupus* Duke of *Gaſcony*, who choſe rather to deliver him up than engage in a War with the Conqueror. *Charlemagne* carried him Priſoner with him into *France*. But he found means to make his Eſcape, and get ſafe into *Italy*, where he is ſaid to have encouraged the King of the *Lombards* to reject all the Propoſals of Peace, that were made him.

The

The Siege of *Verona* kept *Charlemagne* employed from the Middle of *June* to the Beginning of *October*, when *Adalgiſus*, finding himſelf reduced, for want of Proviſions, to the laſt Extremity, and deſpairing of Relief, privately withdrew from the Place in the Dead of the Night, and wandering a long Time about the Country in Diſguiſe, found means, at laſt, to make his Eſcape by Sea to *Conſtantinople*, where he was kindly received and entertained, ſutably to his Rank, by the Emperor *Conſtantine*. Upon his Flight the Gariſon and Inhabitants of *Verona*, opening their Gates, ſubmitted to *Charlemagne*, and their Example was followed by all the Cities on the ſame Side the *Po*; nay ſeveral Cities on the other Side, and nearer to *Rome*, viz. *Ancona*, *Fermo*, *Spoleti*, *Rieti*, *Foligno*, looking upon the Kingdom of the *Lombards* as already at an End, ſubmitted themſelves, by their Deputies, to the Apoſtolic See, and ſwearing Allegiance to St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors, cauſed their Hair to be cut ſhort, after the *Roman* Manner, to ſhow that they renounced the *Lombards*, who wore long Hair, and their Modes.

Year of Chriſt 773.

Adalgiſus *makes his Eſcape.*

Verona *and many other Cities ſubmit to* Charlemagne.

From *Verona Charlemagne* returned to *Pavia*, and ſitting down, with his whole Army, before that City, purſued the Siege with more Vigour than ever. But as the Place was defended by a warlike Prince fighting for his Crown, and the Liberty of his Nation as well as his own, the *French* were repulſed, with great Slaughter, in all their Attacks; inſomuch that the Town was in as good a State of Defence at *Chriſtmas*, and the Citizens and Gariſon as little inclined to ſubmit and deliver it up, as they were the firſt Day of the Siege. *Charlemagne*, finding the Town would hold out much longer than he expected, ſent for his Wife and his Children, and continued in the Camp, entertaining himſelf with them, and purſuing the Siege with great Loſs of Men, and little Succeſs, till the Approach of Eaſter. That Feſtival *Charlemagne* reſolved to keep at *Rome*; and committing accordingly the Care of the Siege to his Uncle Count *Bernard*, he ſet out in the latter End of *March* for that City, attended by a great many Biſhops, Abbots, and other Eccleſiaſtics, who had accompanied him into *Italy*, as well as Officers and Perſons of Diſtinction. As he had not acquainted the Pope with his Deſign, having perhaps taken it ſuddenly being tired with the Length of the Siege, he was far advanced in his Journey before *Hadrian* heard of his coming. But no ſooner did he hear of it, and of the Rout he had taken, than thinking it his Duty to diſtinguiſh ſo great a Prince, a Prince to whom

The French *repulſed with great Slaughter before* Pavia.

Charlemagne *goes to* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 774.

Year of Christ 774.

his See was so highly indebted, above all the Princes and Kings, who had ever yet honoured *Rome* with their Presence, he sent all the Magistrates and Judges of the City with their Banners, and the Badges of their respective Offices to meet him at thirty Miles Distance, and attend him the remaining Part of the Journey. At a Mile from the Gate he was received by all the Militia of *Rome* under Arms, and a Procession of Children, carrying Branches of Olive-trees in their Hands, and singing his Praises. After them appeared at some Distance the Crosses, that were carried, according to Custom, before the Exarchs, and the *Roman* Patricians in their public Entries. *Charlemagne* alighted, as soon as he saw the Crosses, from his Horse with all his Retinue, and, attended by his own Nobility and the *Roman*, went on Foot, amidst the loud Acclamations of the People crowding from all Parts to see him, the rest of the Way to the *Vatican*. As for the Pope, he repaired to that Church early in the Morning, with the whole Body of the Clergy, to wait there the Arrival of the King, and conduct him in Person to the Tomb of St. *Peter*. *Charlemagne*, being arrived at the Foot of the Steps leading up to the Church, kneeled down and kissed the first Step; and thus he continued kneeling down and kissing each Step as he ascended. At the Entry of the Church he was received by the Pontiff in all the gorgeous Attire of his pontifical Ornaments. They embraced each other with great Tenderness; and the King holding the Pope's Right Hand with his Left, they thus entered the Church, the People and Clergy singing aloud the Words of the Gospel, *Blessed is he, that cometh in the Name of the Lord*. The Pope conducted the King strait to the Confession, that is, to the supposed Tomb of St. *Peter*; and there, prostrating themselves both on the Ground, they returned Thanks to the Prince of the Apostles for the great Advantages the King had, by his Intercession, already obtained over his Enemies and the Enemies of the Church, that is, the *Lombards*, who, in Truth, were as good Catholics, and wished as well to the Catholic Church as the *French*, but would not tamely suffer themselves to be robbed by the Pope of the Countries they had acquired at the Expence of the Blood and the Treasure of their Nation, and to which, on that Consideration, they thought they had a much better Title than he or his Church.

How received there by the Romans,

and the Pope.

Charlemagne *visits the holy Places at* Rome.

Charlemagne, having thus satisfied his Devotion to St. *Peter*, expressed an earnest Desire to the Pope of visiting the holy Places within the Walls; and they entered accordingly the City together, after the

Pope with the *Roman* Nobility and the Magiſtrates on the one Side, and the King with the *French* Nobility on the other, had ſolemnly ſworn, on the Body of St. *Peter*, perpetual Friendſhip to each other. They firſt repaired to the *Lateran*, where, as it was the Eve of Eaſter, one of the Days appointed by the Church for the baptizing of Catechumens, the Pope performed that Ceremony, with great Pomp, in the Preſence of the King. The next Day, being the Feſtival of Eaſter, the King, attended by the Militia under Arms and all the *Roman* Nobility, aſſiſted at Divine Service performed by the Pope in the Church of St. *Mary ad Præſepe*, now *Santa Maria Maggiore*, and after the Service dined with his Holineſs in the *Lateran* Palace. The two following Days were ſpent, after the ſame manner, in different Churches; and the third the Pope and the King had a Conference in the *Vatican*, when *Hadrian*, coming to the main Point, put the King in mind of the Promiſe, which King *Pepin* his Father and he himſelf had made at *Chierſi* to his holy Predeceſſor Pope *Stephen* g, extolled the Generoſity of his Predeceſſors and his own to the Apoſtolic See, the Merit they had thereby acquired, and the Reward that was, on that Account, reſerved for them in Heaven, and earneſtly entreated him, as he tendered his Happineſs in this World and the other, to confirm his former Promiſe or Donation, to cauſe all the Places mentioned therein to be delivered up, without further delay, to St. *Peter*, and to ſecure for ever the Poſſeſſion of them to that Apoſtle, and his Church. *Charlemagne* readily complied with the Deſire of the Pope; and having cauſed the former Inſtrument of Donation to be read, he ordered *Etherius*, his Chaplain and Notary, to draw up another. This new Inſtrument he ſigned himſelf, and requiring all the Biſhops, Abbots, and other great Men, who had attended him to *Rome*, to ſign it, with his own Hand he laid it thus ſigned, kiſſing it with great Reſpect and Devotion, on the Body of St. *Peter* h.

Year of Chriſt 774.

Confirms the Donation of his Father Pepin.

What Countries this new Donation compriſed is not agreed among Authors. *Anaſtaſius* writes, that *Charlemagne*, not ſatisfied with the Donation of the *Pentapolis* and the Exarchate made by his Father; added the Iſland of *Corſica*, and the large Country, which, extending from *Luna* to *Sorano* and *Monte Bordone*, comprehends the Cities and Territories of *Vercetri*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Mantua*,

What Countries that Donation contained.

g See vol. 3. p. 353. Leo Oſtien. l. 1. c. 12.

h Anaſt. in Adrian. Eginhard. in vit. Carol. Mag.

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and *Menſelice*; nay, the preſent Donation extended beſides, according to that Writer, to the Provinces of *Iſtria* and *Venetia*, and the two Dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoleti*[i]. In the very ancient manuſcript Chronicle of the Monaſtery of St. *Clement* at *Naples*, *Charlemagne* is ſaid to have added thoſe two Dukedoms to the Donation of his Father. *Sigonius* will have the Donation of *Charlemagne* to have compriſed, beſides thoſe Dukedoms and the Countries given by *Pepin*, the *Sabinian* Territory with great Part of *Tuſcany* and *Campania*. *De Marca* adds all *Campania* with the City of *Naples* and the Provinces of *Abruzzo* and *Apulia*[k]. Others add *Saxony*, which he had lately conquered, and other Countries too, which he never conquered, *viz.* *Sardinia* and *Sicily*; for theſe two Iſlands were held by the Emperors of the Eaſt till torn from the Empire by the *Saracens*. On the other Hand ſome are of Opinion that *Charlemagne* only confirmed the Donation of his Father, comprehending the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis*. In ſhort, as no authentic Copy of this new Inſtrument of Donation is any-where to be found, ſome will not allow him to have given any thing to the Pope on this Occaſion, but to have only renewed and confirmed the Donation of his Father; while others pretend, that he kept nothing to himſelf, but gave all he had to the Pope, and more than he had. *Charlemagne* indeed cauſed the Patrimonies of the *Roman* Church in *Campania*, *Sabinia*, *Tuſcany*, *Iſtria*, &c. which had been confiſcated by the *Lombards*, to be reſtored to that Church; and hence probably aroſe the Miſtake of the Writers, who will have him to have given thoſe Provinces to the Pope: They confounded the Patrimonies of the Church in the above-mentioned Countries with the Countries themſelves[l]. However that *Charlemagne* added ſomething to the Donation of King *Pepin* his Father, namely the Dukedom of *Spoleti*, is manifeſt from the Letters of *Hadrian* to that Prince: For in ſeveral of thoſe Letters, written after the preſent Year 774, expreſs mention is made of the Dukedom of *Spoleti*, which had never, till that Time, been ſubject to the Apoſtolic See, as then ſubject to that See[m]. As the Pope, in his Letters, mentions no other Place, that was not comprehended in the former Donation, we may well conclude, that no other was added to the preſent.

The Dukedom of Spoleti *added to the former Donation.*

[i] Anaſt. in Adrian. [k] Marc. de concord. Sacerdot. & imper. l. 3. c. 10.
[l] See Pietro Giannone Iſtor. Civil. di Napol. l. 5. c. 4. [m] Lib. Carol.

From

From *Rome Charlemagne* returned to the Camp before *Pavia*, where he found his Men quite disheartened, and ready to despair of ever being able to reduce the Place. His Presence inspired them with new Courage: The Attacks were doubled, and the Walls furiously battered Night and Day without Intermission. But in all the Attacks the *Lombards* prevailed, and the Breaches were no sooner made than repaired. Thus the Besiegers and the Besieged continued signalizing themselves till an epidemical Distemper began to rage with great Violence in the City. As by that Distemper great Numbers were daily swept off both of the Garison and the Inhabitants, those, who survived, began to mutiny, and cry out that it was time to surrender. The Duke of *Aquitaine*, dreading to fall into the Hands of *Charlemagne*, took upon him to restrain the Mutineers; but he was killed by the enraged Multitude on the Spot. The unhappy *Desiderius*, finding himself thus abandoned by his own People, was obliged in the End to surrender the Place, and deliver up himself, with his Wife and his Daughter, to *Charlemagne*, upon Condition, for the Conqueror would hearken to no other, that their Lives were spared. *Charlemagne* took them with him into *France*, and confined them, according to some Writers[n], first to *Liege* and afterwards to the Monastery of *Corbie*, where *Desiderius* is said to have spent the rest of his Life in fasting, in praying, and in other good Works[o]. Thus ended the Reign of the *Lombard* Princes in *Italy* 206 Years after they had made themselves Masters of that Country. I say *the Reign of the Lombard Princes*; for, properly speaking that Kingdom did not end now, *Charlemagne* having assumed, upon the surrender of *Pavia* and the Captivity of *Desiderius*, the Title of King of the *Lombards*, and left the People in the same Condition he found them; so that the Monarch was changed, but no Alteration was made in the Monarchy (L).

Year of Christ 774. *Charlemagne returns to the Siege of Pavia.*

The King after a most vigorous Defence is obliged to submit.

The End of Lombard Kings.

Charlemagne's

[n] Annal. Nazar. & Meten.

[o] Hepidan. ad ann. 774.

(L) As *Charlemagne* claimed the Kingdom of the *Lombards* by Right of Conquest, he caused himself, soon after the Reduction of *Pavia*, to be crowned King of *Lombardy* by the Archbishop of *Milan* at a Place called *Modostia* about ten Miles from that City. Of that Ceremony we find the following Account in the *Ordo Romanus* a very ancient Ritual. The new King was led out of his Chamber by several Bishops to the Church; and being conducted to the high Altar, the Archbishop, after some solemn Prayers, asked the People, whether they were willing to subject themselves to *Charles*, and with constant Fidelity obey his Commands? The People answering they were willing, the Bishop anointed his Head, Breast, Shoulders,

Year of Chriſt 774.

Charlemagne's firſt Care, after the Reduction of *Pavia*, was to put the Pope in Poſſeſſion of all the Places, that had been yielded to him by his Father or himſelf, *viz.* the Exarchate, the *Pentapolis*, and the Dukedom of *Spoleti*, which however continued to be governed by its own Dukes. Thus the Popes had, at laſt, the Satisfaction, the ſo long wiſhed for Satisfaction, of ſeeing the *Lombards* humbled, and no longer able to controll them in their ambitious Views, the Emperor driven almoſt quite out of *Italy*, and themſelves enriched with the Spoils of both. As for the Countries, which *Charlemagne* kept to himſelf, *viz.* the Country now called *Piemont*, *Monferrato*, the *Riviera* of *Genoa*, the *Parmeſan*, the *Modeneſe*, *Tuſcany*, the *Milaneſe*, the *Breſcian*, the *Veroneſe*, and the Dukedoms of *Friuli* and *Benevento*, he made there very little Change in the Government, continuing in moſt Places the ſame Governors, and allowing the People to enjoy the ſame Privileges they had enjoyed under the *Lombard* Princes. He made no Alteration at all in their Laws, but only added to them, as King of the *Lombards*, ſome of his own. In *Pavia* and ~~in~~ ſome other ſtrong Towns he left *French* Governors and Gariſons, but ſtrictly enjoined them to govern with Moderation and Mildneſs, that they might be looked upon by the conquered People as Friends rather than Conquerors. *Charlemagne*, having thus ſettled the Affairs of *Italy* to the entire Satisfaction of the Pope and his own, repaſſed the Mountains in the Month of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year, and returned to *France*.

The Pope put in Poſſeſſion of the Places yielded to him by Pepin.

No Change made by Charlemagne *in the Government.*

I cannot, in Juſtice, diſmiſs this Subject without vindicating the Character of the unhappy *Lombards* againſt the antichriſtian and virulent Invectives of the Popes, painting them, in all their Letters, as a *lawleſs*, *cruel*, *brutal*, *barbarous* and *ſavage* People, as *of all the Nations on the Earth the moſt wicked*, *the moſt abandoned to every kind of Vice*, as *the Dregs of Mankind*, and *a Diſgrace to human Nature*. They were indeed, when they firſt came into *Italy*, a rude and unpoliſhed Race; and ſo were the *Goths*, the *Franks*, the *Sax-*

The Lombards *unjuſtly aſperſed by the Popes.*

Shoulders, and Arms, praying that the new King might be ſucceſsful in his Wars, and happy in his Iſſue. He then girt him with a Sword, put Bracelets on his Arms, and gave him a Robe, a Ring, and a Sceptre, and having placed the Crown on his Head, he led him through the Choir to the Throne, and having ſeated him there, and given him the Kiſs of Peace, he celebrated Divine Service (1). *Charlemagne* ordained, that the ſame Ceremony ſhould be obſerved in the Coronation of his Succeſſors, and performed by the Archbiſhop of *Milan*, who thenceforth began to contend for Dignity with the Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*.

(1) Ordo Roman. apud Sigon.

ons,

ons, and the other northern Nations, when they first broke into *Spain*, *France*, *Britain*, &c. But divesting themselves, by degrees, of their native Rudeness and Barbarity, especially after they had embraced the Christian Religion, they became, in the Course of a few Years, if the contemporary Writers are to be credited, quite another People. No-where was Justice more impartially administered, nowhere were the Rights and the Properties of the People more safe, or secured by better Laws, or those Laws more strictly executed than under their Government. Under the Government of the *Lombards*, says *Paulus Diaconus*, no Violence was committed, no Man unjustly dispossessed of his Property, none oppressed with Taxes; Theft, Robberies, Murder, and Adultery were seldom heard of; every one went, without the least Apprehension of Danger, whither he pleased [p]. *Paul* was, it is true, himself a *Lombard*; but *Gunter* [q], the incomparable *Grotius* [r], and, in short, all who have writ of the *Lombards*, except the Popes and their avowed Partisans, speak no less favourably of them than *Paul* himself. And truly their many wholsome Laws (M), restraining and severely punishing all Sorts of Crimes; the magnificent Churches, and rich Monasteries, with which they filled that Part of *Italy*, that was subject to them; the many Bishoprics they founded; the many Towns and Cities they either built, repaired, or embellished; the uncommon Respect and Veneration, that even their most warlike Princes paid to the Pope, when he acted in the Character of a Christian Bishop, or a Prelate of the Christian Church, and finally the many Persons of both Sexes and all Conditions among them, whose Sanctity and eminent Virtues have been acknowleged by the Popes themselves, are convincing Proofs of their Piety, Justice and Wisdom, and at the same Time a full Confutation, as *Grotius* observes, of the many Calumnies, with which the Popes have endeavoured, in their Letters, or rather in their Libels, to blacken them in the Eyes of the World. As the *Lombards* were the only Power in

Year of Christ 774.

Their true Character.

[p] Paul. Diac. Hist. Long. l. 3. c. 8. [q] Gunt. in Ligurino. [r] Grot. in Proleg. ad Hist. Goth.

(M) Their Laws were found so just, so clear, so comprehensive, that they were retained and observed in *Italy* some Ages after the Reign of their Princes was at an End. *Grotius* equals, and in many Particulars prefers them to the Laws of the *Romans* themselves (1); and *Gunter*, a famous Poet in those Days, sung thus of the *Lombards* in his *Ligurinum*:

Gens astuta, sagax, prudens, industria, solers,
Provida consilio, legum jurisque perita.

(1) Grot. in Proleg. ad Hist. Goth.

Italy

Year of Christ 774.

Italy capable of controlling the ambitious Views of the Popes, and determined, as they apprehended, to controll them, they dreaded nothing ſo much as their ever becoming Maſters of that Country; and therefore, without any Regard to Conſcience or Truth, they made it their Buſineſs, as it was their Intereſt, to prejudice and ſtir up firſt the Emperors, and afterwards the *French* Nation againſt them, by repreſenting them to both as the moſt wicked of People: And thus, in the End, they accompliſhed their Ruin, and made themſelves, at their Expence, no inconſiderable Princes (N).

The Biſhop of Ravenna *claims the Exarchate and ſeizes it.*

The Pope had by *Charlemagne* been put in Poſſeſſion, as has been related above, of the Exarchate, the *Pentapolis*, and the Dukedom of *Spoleti:* And he now flattered himſelf, that he ſhould enjoy undiſturbed his new Principality, and beſides find ſome Leiſure to attend

(N) For the better underſtanding of what will be ſaid in the Sequel I ſhall give here a ſuccinct Account of the State of *Italy* after *Charlemagne* had, by the Reduction of *Pavia* and the Captivity of *Deſiderius*, put an End to the Reign of the *Lombard* Kings. *Italy* was poſſeſſed, at that Time, by four different Potentates, the *Venetians*, the *French*, the Popes, and the Emperors. The *Venetians*, by their Trade to the *Levant*, were become very conſiderable, and as they had a great Number of Veſſels, they bore no ſmall Sway in the Affairs of *Italy*. The *French* were Maſters of the ſeveral Provinces mentioned above (1), and beſides, of the two great Dukedoms of *Friuli* and *Benevento*, the former comprehending all the *Friuli* with the greater Part of *Iſtria*, and the latter above two Thirds of the preſent Kingdom of *Naples*. Thoſe two Dukes *Charlemagne* continued in their reſpective Dukedoms; nay and allowed them the ſame Power and Authority, which they had enjoyed under the *Lombard* Kings, only requiring them to take annually the ſame Oath of Allegiance to him they had annually taken to the Kings of their own Nation. The Pope poſſeſſed the Exarchate, the *Pentapolis* (2), and the Dukedom of *Spoleti* with the City and Dukedom of *Rome*; but under him the Dukes of *Spoleti* retained the ſame Power, that the other Dukes retained under *Charlemagne*. The Emperors ſtill held the Dukedom of *Naples*, with the Cities of *Gallipoli*, *Otranto*, and *Tarento* in the *Hither Calabria*, and in the *Farther Calabria* the Cities of *Reggio*, *Gerace*, *Santa Severina*, *Crotone*, *Amantea*, *Agripoli* and *Amalfi*. The Dukedom of *Naples* compriſed, beſides that City and its Territory, the Cities of *Pozzuolo*, *Baia*, *Miſeno*, *Caſtellamare*, *Sorrento*, and all the adjacent Iſlands. The Dukedom of *Naples* was governed by a Duke ſent from *Conſtantinople*; but all the other Cities, that the Emperors ſtill retained in *Italy*, were under the Governor, or as he is ſtiled, the Patrician of *Sicily*. In more ancient Times, only the *Farther Calabria* was ſubject to the Patrician of *Sicily*. But the Cities, which the Emperors held in thoſe Parts, being reduced to a very ſmall Number, they were all ſubjected to that Patrician: And thence that Part of *Italy* took the Name of *Sicily*, which Name was afterwards extended by the *Norman* and *Suevian* Princes, Maſters of thoſe Countries, to all the Provinces, of which the preſent Kingdom of *Naples* is compoſed. From a Charter of *Roger* the *Norman* of the Year 1115, it is manifeſt, that the Name of *Sicily* was then common to that Iſland and that Kingdom, but with this Difference, that the former was called *Sicily beyond the Faro*, and the latter *Sicily on this Side the Faro*. In our Days the King of *Naples* is ſtill ſtiled *King of the two Sicilies*.

(1) See above, p. 54.

(2) See vol. 3. p. 380. note O.

to

to the Affairs of the Church, to redreſs the many enormous Abuſes, that had every-where crept into it, and reſtore the eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, at this Time, entirely decayed. But he found himſelf, when he expected it the leaſt, involved in new Troubles, that engroſſing all his Attention, allowed him no ſpare Time to think of any Reformation in the Church. For no ſooner had *Charlemagne* left *Italy* than *Leo*, Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, pretending, that, by the Appointment of that Prince, he had ſucceeded the Exarch in all his Rights as well as in his Power and Authority, and laying claim, on that Pretence, to the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis*, ſeized on the Cities of *Faenza*, *Forlimpopoli*, *Forli*, *Ceſena*, *Bobio*, *Imola*, *Bologna*, and the Dukedom as well as the City of *Ferrara*; drove every-where out the Officers of the Pope, and threw thoſe into Priſon, who were ſent from *Rome* to complain, in *Hadrian*'s Name, of ſuch violent and unwarrantable Proceedings in a Prelate of the Church. Hereupon *Hadrian*, not able, or not caring to redreſs himſelf while he had one ever ready to fight his Battles for him, had again recourſe to his Protector *Charlemagne*, complaining to him, in a long Letter, of the unparalleled Boldneſs and Preſumption of the Archbiſhop, on whom he beſtows, without any regard to his Character, the Epithet of *Nefandiſſimus*, and conjuring his moſt Chriſtian Son, by all that is ſacred, to undertake, without delay, a ſecond Journey into *Italy*, if he intended that St. *Peter* ſhould reap any Benefit from his firſt [s].

Year of Chriſt 774.

The Pope invites Charlemagne *again into* Italy.

Upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter *Charlemagne*, who was then purſuing the Conqueſt of *Saxony*, or rather the Deſtruction of that People and their Country, diſpatched immediately to *Rome Poſſeſſor* Biſhop, and the Abbot *Rabigaud* to aſſure the Pope, that he had the Intereſt of the Apoſtolic See as much at Heart as his own; but, at the ſame Time, to let him know, that he was not then at Leiſure to undertake another Journey to *Italy*; but would not fail, as ſoon as he had put an End to the War, in which he was engaged, to comply with his Holineſs's Deſire, and ſettle Matters to his entire Satisfaction. But that War was not likely to be ſoon at an End, and the Pope was quite impatient to have the Cities reſtored, that the Archbiſhop had ſeized. Being therefore informed by a Nuncio, whom he ſent to *Spoleti* to adjuſt ſome Differences between him and the Duke, that Envoys from the Dukes of *Friuli*, *Benevento* and *Chiuſi* were met in that City, he conſtrued, without further Enquiry, the Meeting of

Who excuſes himſelf from undertaking that Journey.

Year of Chriſt 775.

[s] Cod. Carol. ep. 54.

Year of Christ 775.

the Envoys into a Conſpiracy, that was hatching by the Dukes againſt *Charlemagne* and himſelf. And accordingly, to make *Charlemagne* haſten his Return into *Italy*, he immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger to him with the following Intelligence; that the four Dukes maintained a private Correſpondence with *Adalgiſus* and the Emperor, who had warmly eſpouſed the Cauſe of that Prince; that early in the Spring a mighty Fleet was to be ſent againſt *Italy* with a numerous Army on board; that the four Dukes had agreed to act in Concert with the Emperor, and that they had nothing leſs in their View than to ſurpriſe *Rome*, to drive the *French* every-where out, and placing *Adalgiſus* on the Throne of his Father, reſtore the Kingdom of the *Lombards*[t]. *Charlemagne* however made, it ſeems, no great Account of that Intelligence: For he only ordered his Envoys *Poſſeſſor* and *Rabigaud* to repair to the Courts of *Spoleti* and *Benevento*, in order to diſcover the Diſpoſition of thoſe Dukes, and obſerve whether any military Preparations were carrying on in their Dukedoms. The Envoys found every thing quiet in both Places, and the Dukes, ſo far as they could judge, pleaſed rather than diſſatisfied with the new Government. *Hadrian* had flattered himſelf, that the King, taking upon his bare Word all he had written to be true, would have haſtened into *Italy*, would have depoſed thoſe Dukes without further Enquiry, and, what was his chief Concern, obliged the Archbiſhop to reſtore all the Places he had taken. But *Charlemagne*, knowing how jealous the Pope was of the Power of thoſe Dukes; what Hatred he bore, as all his Predeceſſors had done, to the *Lombards* in general, acquieſced in the Report, that was made to him by his Envoys, without taking the leaſt Notice to the Dukes of the pretended Conſpiracy, or of any thing elſe, that had been written againſt them by the Pope. This prudent Conduct in the King was not at all pleaſing to the Pope, who, thinking himſelf thereby diſtruſted and ſlighted by his Friend and Protector, loudly complained of it in a Letter he wrote to him on this Occaſion[u]. But *Charlemagne* made no more Account of his Complaints than he had made of his Intelligence.

The Lombard Dukes falſly charged by the Pope with conſpiring againſt Charlemagne.

The Duke of Friuli *takes upon him the Title of King of the* Lombards.

However in the latter End of the preſent Year *Rotgaud*, Duke of *Friuli*, and next to the Duke of *Benevento* the moſt powerful of all the *Lombard* Dukes, ſcorning to live ſubject to a foreign Prince, openly revolted, with a Deſign to place, not *Adalgiſus* but himſelf

[t] Cod. Carol. ep. 59. [u] Cod. Carolin. ep. 58.

on the Throne. Several Cities declared in his Favour; and others he ſurpriſed, or took by Force, cauſing himſelf to be every-where proclaimed King of the *Lombards*. Upon the firſt Notice of this Revolt *Charlemagne*, who had put his Troops into Winter Quarters on the Frontiers of *Saxony*, haſtened with the Choice of his Army into *Alſace*; for he is ſaid to have kept his Chriſtmas there, and marching from thence in the Depth of Winter, entered *Italy* before it was known that he had moved from *Saxony*, ſurpriſed the Duke, and having put to Flight the few Troops he had Time to aſſemble in that Surpriſe, took him Priſoner, and cauſed his Head to be publicly ſtruck off. *Stabilinian*, Father-in-law to the Duke, ſhutting himſelf up in the City of *Trevigio*, defended the Place with great Bravery till it was betrayed to the Enemy by an *Italian* Prieſt, whoſe Treachery *Charlemagne* rewarded with the Biſhopric of *Verdun*. Indeed it was by ſuch Services that the Clergy qualified themſelves, at this Time, for Biſhoprics; and for ſuch Services were they commonly preferred to that Station by the Princes. We therefore need not at all wonder at the ſcandalous and debauched Lives, that the Eccleſiaſtics of all Ranks are ſaid to have led in thoſe Days. The Princes preferred ſuch only as had been, or were capable of being ſerviceable to them, however otherwiſe diſqualified; and the pretended Heads of the Church were ſo entirely taken up with temporal Affairs, that they had no Time to mind the eccleſiaſtic. Upon the Reduction of *Trevigio* the other Cities all ſubmitted of their own accord; and *Charlemagne*, not caring to truſt a *Lombard* with the Government, appointed one *Marcaire*, a Native of *France*, Duke of *Friuli*, and Counts in each City to govern under him[w].

Year of Chriſt 775.

Charlemagne *returns into* Italy.

Year of Chriſt 776.

Takes the Duke Priſoner and puts him to Death.

The King continued in *Friuli* till Eaſter, which he propoſed, as he wrote to the Pope, to keep at *Rome*; and to have the Son, whom Queen *Hildegard* had lately brought him, baptized by his Holineſs on that Solemnity. But being, in the mean Time, informed, that the *Saxons* had revolted a ſecond Time, that is, had endeavoured to recover their Liberty, of which *Charlemagne* had no Right, nor Pretence to rob them, he ſolemnized that Feſtival, which fell this Year on the 14th of *April*, at *Trevigio*; and then repaſſing the *Alps* with the ſame Expedition, with which he had paſſed them, he appeared

From Friuli *he returns to* Saxony.

[w] Annal. Meten. & Petav. Regin. in Chronic. Cod. Carol. ep. 57. Eginhard in vit. Carol.

Year of Chriſt 776. on the Frontiers of *Saxony* while he was thought by the *Saxons* to be ſtill in *Italy*[x].

The Pope diſappointed and mortified at his ſudden Departure.

His ſudden Departure was a great Mortification to the Pope, who had flattered himſelf, that before he left *Italy*, he would have obliged the audacious Archbiſhop to reſtore to the Apoſtolic See the Places he had taken, and at leaſt ſeverely reprimanded him for preſuming to ſeize them. But inſtead of that, upon the Return of the Legates, whom he had ſent to wait on the King, and complain to him of the unjuſt and violent Proceedings of the preſumptuous Prelate, he received a Letter written with the King's own Hand in commendation of the Archbiſhop, who, it ſeems, had been very aſſiduous in attending him, during his Stay in *Friuli*, and being a Man of Addreſs, had found Means to inſinuate himſelf greatly into his Favour. The Pope, in Anſwer to the King's Letter, aſſured him, that he bore no Ill-will to the Archbiſhop; that whoever was ſo happy as to be favoured by his moſt Chriſtian Son, ſhould be equally favoured by him; but that he could not, in Conſcience, ſuffer St. *Peter* to be robbed of the Effects of his Generoſity, nor him of the Reward, that was reſerved for his Generoſity in Heaven. He therefore earneſtly entreats and conjures him, as he tenders the Salvation of his Soul, not to connive at the ſacrilegious Preſumption of the Archbiſhop, how well ſoever he may have deſerved of him in other Reſpects, but oblige him, without delay, to reſtore to St. *Peter* what he could not allow him to keep without taking from the Apoſtle what he himſelf had given him, and thereby forfeiting his Favour and Protection[y].

His Letter to him.

He complains to Charlemagne *of the Duke of* Chiuſi *and the Biſhop of* Ravenna.

This Year the Pope wrote three other Letters to *Charlemagne*. In the firſt he loudly complains of *Raginald*, Duke of *Chiuſi*, who had ſeized on the Patrimony of St. *Peter* in that Dukedom, and begs that he may be removed, as an avowed Enemy to that Apoſtle, and one, who had ever been at variance with him and his Vicars[z]. In the other, to prejudice *Charlemagne* againſt his Antagoniſt the Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, he acquaints him, that he has received a Letter from the Patriarch of *Grado* in *Friuli*, which, he ſays, was intercepted, opened, and read by the Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, no doubt, with a Deſign to diſcover the Contents, and communicate them, if

[x] Annal. Met. & Loiſel. Egolis in vit. Carol. [y] Cod. Carol. ep. 53.
[z] Cod. Carol. ep. 60.

he

he found they were of any Importance, to the Duke of *Benevento*, and to the other Enemies of the Apoſtolic See and of *France*. As *John*, Patriarch of *Grado*, lived in great Intimacy with the Pope, the Archbiſhop might have opened the Letter, and probably did, to diſcover whether it contained any thing relating to himſelf. But upon that Action the Pope put the worſt Conſtruction he poſſibly could, becauſe it beſt ſerved his Purpoſe, to eſtrange the King from one, who rivaled him in his Favour. To calumniate with ſo pious a Deſign, was it ſeems, no Crime, but rather meritorious, according to the Caſuiſtry of *Hadrian*. In the ſame Letter he tells the King, that the Inſolence of the Archbiſhop was no longer to be endured; that depending upon his Favour and Protection he paid no kind of Regard to the Admonitions, Menaces and Exhortations of the Apoſtolic See, and that, bidding Defiance to St. *Peter* and himſelf, he had even the Aſſurance to aſſume and oblige others to give him the Title of Prince of *Ravenna*[a]. To theſe Letters *Charlemagne*, who had, at this Time, other Affairs of greater Importance on his Hands, and was quite tired with the Pope's Complaints, returned no other Anſwer, than that he ſhould ſend, in the Autumn, Embaſſadors into *Italy* with a ſtrict Charge to ſee all the Promiſes made good, that had ever been made by himſelf, or his Father to St. *Peter* and his See[b]. Year of Chriſt 776.

The Pope waited the Arrival of the Embaſſadors with the greateſt Impatience till the Month of *November*. But not receiving, even then, any Tidings of them, he wrote to the Magiſtrates of *Pavia* to know of them when he might expect them. The Magiſtrates anſwered, that they were not yet ſet out from *France*, nor would they, they believed, ſet out in Haſte. This Anſwer gave great Uneaſineſs to the Pope. He began to apprehend, that *Charlemagne* was grown cold in his Friendſhip for him, and his Zeal for the Intereſt of his See; and beſides beheld, with the utmoſt Indignation, the haughty and ambitious Archbiſhop, (being himſelf free from all Haughtineſs and Ambition) taking upon him, in the mean Time, the Port of a Prince, and enjoying undiſturbed the rich Revenues and all the Wealth of the Exarchate. He therefore wrote a third Letter to *Charlemagne*, preſſing and conjuring him to ſend Embaſſadors without delay, or return in Perſon into *Italy*, to protect the Patrimony of St. *Peter* againſt the ſacrilegious Depredations of wicked Men, if he deſired to be, as he had hitherto been on all Occaſions, protected by

And preſſes him to ſend Commiſſaries or to come himſelf into Italy.

[a] Cod. Carol. ep. 52. [b] Ibid. ep. 51.

that

Year of Christ 776.

that Apostle[c]. Upon the Receipt of this Letter *Charlemagne* dispatched to *Rome* the Bishop *Possessor* and an Abbot named *Dodo*; but it was only to acquaint the Pope, or rather make him believe, that he proposed returning to *Italy* the ensuing *October*, and quiet him, as he grew daily more troublesome, by that Means for a While. For that Journey he put off, tho' importuned by the Pope with Letters after Letters and endless Legations, till the Year 780, when having, after a nine Years War, settled, for the present, the Affairs of *Saxony*, he set out for *Italy*, at last, with his Queen *Hildegard*, and two of his Sons by her, *Carloman* and *Lewis*. He arrived at *Pavia* in the Autumn of that Year, and having kept his Christmas and spent the rest of the Winter in that City, he repaired to *Rome*, as Easter aproached, to solemnize that Festival there. His second Entry into *Rome* was no less magnificent and solemn than his first; and he was attended, so long as he stayed, by the Pope in Person, by the *Roman* Magistrates, and all the *Roman* Nobility. One of the chief Motives, that brought him to *Rome*, at this Time, was, that his Son *Carloman* might be baptized on Easter-day by the Pope. *Carloman* was born in 776; but *Charlemagne* had put off his Baptism till his Affairs allowed him to repair to *Rome* to have that Sacrament administered to him there by his Holiness: And it was administered to him accordingly by his Holiness with the greatest Solemnity. It is observable, that the Pope, who was himself Sponsor for the Child, changed, on that Occasion, the Name of *Carloman* for that of *Pepin*, probably out of Regard to the Memory of his Grandfather, the Author of his temporal Grandeur. As *Charlemagne*'s eldest Son, whom he had by his first Wife *Himiltrude*, bore the same Name, Authors frequently mistake the one for the other. A few Days after *Hadrian*, at the Request of the King, gave the royal Unction to his two Sons; and *Carloman*, now *Pepin*, was by his Father proclaimed King of *Lombardy*, and *Lewis*, at this Time but three Years old, King of *Aquitaine*. Thus he provided for his two younger Children, the Kingdoms of *Neustria*, *Austrasia* and *Burgundy* falling to the Share of the two elder *Pepin* and *Charles*; and at the same Time flattered himself, that the *Lombards* and People of *Aquitaine*, whom he had lately conquered, having Kings of their own, would not be so easily tempted to shake off the Yoke, as if their Countries were made Provinces of *France*[d].

Charlemagne sends Embassadors to quiet the Pope.

Goes himself to Rome.

Year of Christ 781.

His Son Carloman *baptized there by the Pope.*

Who gives the royal Unction to him and his Brother Lewis.

[c] Cod. Carol. ibid.

[d] Eginhard. in vit. Carol. Chron. Nibelung. in appendice. Annal. Moissiac.

As

As for the Affairs of the Pope, no kind of mention is made, at this Time, of the Quarrel between him and the Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, or of the Reſtitution of the Places the Archbiſhop had ſeized. However as we find the Pope henceforth poſſeſſed of thoſe Places, it is not to be doubted but that *Charlemagne* cauſed them all to be reſtored before he left *Rome*. He likewiſe adjuſted, during his Stay in that City, the Difference, that had ſome Time ſubſiſted, between the Pope and the Duke or Governor of *Naples*. The Duke had ſeized on the Patrimony of St. *Peter* in that Dukedom, and the Pope, by way of Repriſals, on the City of *Terracina*. But that City the Duke had retaken by Surpriſe, and ſtill continued to withold the Revenues of the Patrimony. The Pope therefore, to deliver himſelf from ſo troubleſome a Neighbour, would have willingly perſuaded the King to invade the Dukedom, and ſeize on the City of *Naples* itſelf, alledging that he would thereby entirely defeat the wicked Deſigns of the Duke of *Benevento*, who depending on the Neighbourhood and the Aſſiſtance of the *Greeks*, was ready, he ſaid, to declare for *Adalgiſus*, whoſe Siſter he had married, and place him, when an Opportunity offered, on the Throne of his Father. But the King, unwilling to break at this Juncture with the Emperor, inſtead of hearkening to the Suggeſtions of the Pope, contented himſelf with interpoſing his good Offices; and it was agreed, that the Duke ſhould reſtore the Patrimony; ſhould pay the Arrears as ſoon as he conveniently could, and in the mean Time deliver up to the Pope four Children of the four chief Families of *Naples* to be kept as Hoſtages till the Agreement was fully performed. As for the Duke of *Benevento*, the King, knowing how jealous the Pope was of the Power of that Duke, paid no kind of Regard to his Inſinuations againſt him. The King had given the Dukedom of *Spoleti* to the Pope, as has been related above; but Diſputes daily ariſing between him and the Duke, he took back that Dukedom, before he left *Rome*, and gave the Province of *Sabina* to the Pope in its lieu[e]. *Charlemagne*, having thus ſettled the Affairs of *Italy* returned to *France*, leaving his Son *Pepin*, King of *Lombardy*, in *Pavia* the Metropolis of his new Kingdom.

Year of Chriſt 781.

The Affairs of Italy *how ſettled by* Charlemagne.

During theſe Tranſactions in the Weſt, great Changes happened at the Court of *Conſtantinople* in the Eaſt. The Emperor *Conſtantine*,

Great Changes in the Court of Conſtantinople.

[e] Cod. Carol. ep. 69.

Year of Christ 781.

tine, surnamed *Copronymus*, died in 775 (O), and was succeeded by

(O) The contemporary Historians give us the following Account of his Death. The King of the *Bulgarians*, whose Army, breaking under his Conduct into the Empire had been entirely cut off by *Constantine*, suspecting that he had been betrayed by some of his own People, wrote, in Appearance, a most friendly Letter to the Emperor, pretending that he designed to quit the Crown, and lead a private Life at *Constantinople*. For that Purpose he begged *Constantine* would send him a safe Conduct, and, at the same Time, let him know what Friends he had among the *Bulgarians*, that he might repair with them to *Constantinople*, being unwilling to trust his Design or his Person to others. *Constantine*, not suspecting any Deceit, which seems very surprising and scarce credible, sent him immediately the Names of all the *Bulgarians*, who corresponded privately with him; which the crafty Prince no sooner received than he caused them all to be inhumanly massacred. The Emperor, finding himself thus shamefully deluded, is said by *Theophanes* to have torn off his Hair in the Transport of his Passion, to have sworn Revenge, and ordered vast military Preparations to be made throughout the Empire, with a Design to extirpate the whole Race of the *Bulgarians*. Having thus spent, in warlike Preparations, the greater Part of the Year, he set out from *Constantinople* in the latter End of the Summer. But being seized on his March, as the Weather was extream hot, with a violent Fever, and Carbuncles, as the Historians call them, breaking out on his Thighs and his Legs, he returned to *Archadropolis*, was conveyed from thence to *Selymbria*, and from *Selymbria* by Sea to *Strongylum*, where he died in the Vessel on the 13th of *September*, in the 56th Year of his Age, after he had reigned 55, *viz.* 21 with his Father, ten alone, and 24 with his Son (1). To the Account the Author of the *Miscella*, and *Theophanes*, who lived at this very Time, give us of *Constantine*'s Death, *Cedrenus*, who wrote 300 Years after, adds that in the Agonies of Death he cried out that *he was delivered alive to an unextinguishable Fire, on account of the Virgin Mary*; that he commanded her to be thenceforth honoured as the true Mother of God, and that he expired in praying for the Safety of the People, of the Senate, of his Son, and the Preservation of the Churches of St. *Sophia*, of St. *Mary in Blachernis*, St. *Mary in Chalcopratriis*, and other Churches of *Constantinople*, which that Writer names. Upon the Authority of *Cedrenus Baronius*, *Natalis Alexander*, *Maimbourg* and the whole Tribe of the Popish Writers deliver it as a Thing not at all to be doubted, that *Constantine*, at the Point of Death, despaired of his Salvation; that he died crying out he was condemned alive to the eternal Flames, for the Blasphemies he had uttered against the Virgin *Mary*, and that he commanded her to be thenceforth honoured as the true Mother of God, without any Regard to what he had said or done against her. But of all this not a single Word in *Theophanes*, in the Author of the *Miscella*, in *Paulus Diaconus*, or *Nicephorus*, who all lived in these Times or near them, and were all no less zealous Advocates for the Worship of Images, of Saints, of the Virgin *Mary*, and no less provoked against *Constantine* for banishing that Superstition than *Cedrenus*. And is it at all probable, that had they been acquainted with the above-mentioned Circumstances of *Constantine*'s Death, so favourable to the Cause they maintained, they would have all passed them over in Silence? They would not perhaps have been so uncharitable as to triumph and exult, as *Baronius* and *Maimburg* have done, in the supposed Damnation of the Emperor; but neither would they have concealed it. Now if the Writers, who lived, as some of them did whom I have mentioned, at the very Time of *Constantine*'s Death, were unacquainted with those melancholy Circumstances of it, how came *Cedrenus* acquainted with them three Hundred Years after? We shall soon see the Testimony of *Sigebert*, concerning a certain Council, rejected by *Baronius* and all the Popish Writers to a Man, (and shall

(1) Theoph. ad ann. Constantin. 33, 34, 35. Auctor. Miscell.

reject

by his Son *Leo* the 11th of that Name, who reigned only five Years(P). Year of Chriſt 781.

reject it together with them) chiefly becauſe no mention is made of that Council by any of the contemporary Writers, and *Sigebert* lived three Hundred Years after the Time, in which it was ſuppoſed to have been held. The only Reaſon I can allege, and *Baronius* himſelf, I believe, could have alleged no other, why he rejected the Teſtimony of the one Writer, and admitted that of the other, tho' the ſame Objection lay equally againſt both, was becauſe the Teſtimony of the one made againſt and the Teſtimony of the other made for the Cauſe, which he had undertaken to maintain without any Regard to Truth, Conſcience, or Honeſty. As for *Conſtantine*'s blaſpheming the Virgin *Mary*, and believing himſelf damned on that Account, if the Words of *Cedrenus* are to be thus underſtood; he would not indeed allow the Worſhip to be given to her, to her Image, or to any other Creature, that he thought due to God alone; but at the ſame Time he reſpected, reverenced and honoured her as the Mother of God, anathematizing with the Fathers of the Council, that was held under him, *all, who did not confeſs the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, to be above all viſible and inviſible Creatures* (1). By the ſame Council were anathematized *all, who did not confeſs the Saints, who before the Law, and under the Law had pleaſed God, to be honourable in his Sight* (2); ſo that he no otherwiſe blaſphemed the Virgin *Mary*, or the other Saints, but by forbidding them to be worſhipped, or commanding all Worſhip to be given to God alone. He did not, even according to *Cedrenus*, command the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints to be thenceforth worſhipped, or their Images to be reſtored, which he had cauſed to be caſt out of the Churches; and therefore did not repent or retract what he had done, as is affirmed by *Baronius* and *Maimburg*, who from thence take Occaſion to compare him to the wicked King *Antiochus*, and would make us believe, that Repentance was as uſeleſs to him as it was to that King.

As *Conſtantine* ſpared no Pains, and, I may ſay, no Puniſhments, to ſuppreſs, and effectually ſuppreſſed the ſuperſtitious Worſhip of Images, at leaſt in the Eaſt, the Monks, who lived chiefly by that Superſtition, and wrote after it was reſtored, have ſpared no Pains in their Turn to blacken his Character, and render his Name infamous to the lateſt Poſterity. There is no Crime, which they have not, with that View, laid to his Charge; no Hereſy, of which they have not arraigned him. He was, if they are to be credited, an *Arian*, an *Eutychian*, a *Neſtorian*, a *Socinian*, a *Manichee*, &c. and beſides, a Magician, and one, who dealt with the Devil, who invoked the Devil, who worſhipped the Devil, while he would not allow the Servants of God to worſhip the Saints. Were all we read, or the hundredth Part of what we read in the Invectives of the Monkiſh Writers againſt this excellent Emperor true, *Maimburg* might, in drawing his Character, have called him, as he does, and called him with Juſtice, the moſt wicked Prince, that ever lived on the Earth, or rather a Monſter, in whom centered all Abominations without the leaſt Appearance of one ſingle Virtue to atone for ſo many Vices (3). But with no one Vice is he charged by the contemporary Hiſtorians, who, had they known he was guilty of or addicted to any, would not have failed, we may be ſure, as they were all his avowed Enemies, to publiſh them to the World. They ſpeak indeed very reſervedly of his Virtues; but yet own him to have been a Prince of great Temperance, of uncommon Reſolution and Courage, well ſkilled in War, greatly beloved by all, who ſerved under him either in military or civil Employments, and one, who defended the Empire, with good Succeſs, againſt the *Saracenes* and the *Bulgarians*, that is, with ſuch Succeſs as would have procured him the higheſt Encomiums from the Writers of thoſe Times, had not his Zeal for the Purity of the Chriſtian Worſhip made them his Enemies. His Severity, or, as it is called, his Cruelty to the Worſhippers of Images, eſpe-

(1) See vol. 3. p. 364.

(2) Vol. 3. ibid.

(3) Maimb. Hiſt. Iconoclaſt. l. 3. p. 336, 337.

cially

Year of Chriſt 781.

Years (P). He was married in 769 to *Irene*, a Native of *Athens*, of whom I ſhall have frequent Occaſion to ſpeak in the Sequel, and had by

cially the Monks, is the only Thing the Hiſtorians, who deſerve any Credit, have been able, with the leaſt Appearance of Truth, to lay to his Charge. Againſt the Monks indeed he proceded, it muſt be owned, with the utmoſt Severity; but not till he found that he could by no other Means overcome their Obſtinacy, and wean them from the Superſtition, which he was determined, at all Events, to ſuppreſs, and till they, not ſatisfied with ſetting up and worſhipping Images in Defiance of his repeated Edicts, and the Definition of a General Council, began to diſturb the Peace of the Empire, to ſtir up the People to Sedition and Rebellion, and had even the Inſolence to inſult him, and in the groſſeſt Manner, to his Face (1). His Severity to them was great, and great was the Provocation they gave him. Had the Proteſtant Subjects of *Lewis* XIV. behaved in like manner; had they, in Defiance of his Edicts, pulled down and deſtroyed the Images he worſhipped; had they diſturbed the Peace of his Kingdom, ſtirred up the People, by ſeditious Harangues, to Rebellion, and publicly inſulted and reviled him, they would not have met with better Treatment from him, perhaps with worſe, than the Monks met with from *Conſtantine*; nor would *Maimburg*, who juſtifies all the Severities, that were practiſed upon that unhappy People without the leaſt Provocation, have thought that his grand Monarch, when thus provoked, would have deſerved to be painted as *a blood-thirſty Tyrant*, as *a Monſter of Cruelty*, for reſenting ſuch Uſage with the ſame Severity it was reſented with by the Emperor.

As to the various Hereſies, which the Monkiſh Writers have charged him with; they are, moſt of them at leaſt, quite incompatible with each other; and beſides, *Conſtantine* condemned with the Council, which he aſſembled, ſigned, and cauſed to be received all over the Eaſt, every Hereſy, that had till that Time been condemned by the Church. The only Hereſy therefore, that can juſtly be laid to his Charge, was what a Council of 338 Biſhops had defined, *viz.* that God alone is to be worſhipped, and worſhipped *in Spirit and Truth*. Magic, which *Conſtantine* has been arraigned of by the Monks, as well as of Hereſy, was, in thoſe Days, a common Charge; and all were Magicians and dealt with the Devil, who quarrelled with the Monks or the Clergy. Upon the whole, had *Conſtantine* as zealouſly promoted the Worſhip of Images as he oppoſed it, it is not at all to be doubted but that he would have been placed amongſt the beſt Princes, if not the greateſt Saints, by thoſe very Writers, who have filled their Hiſtories and their Legends with virulent Declamations againſt him. His undertaking to aboliſh the moſt wicked, as he thought, as well as the moſt favourite Superſtition, that had ever crept into the Church, and ſteadily purſuing ſo difficult an Undertaking at the Expence of his own Quiet, and not without endangering both his Crown and his Life, muſt alone convince every unbiaſſed Reader that he was a moſt religious Prince, having above all Things at Heart the Purity of the Religion he profeſſed. He left ſome Writings behind him, which, we may be ſure, have not been ſuffered to reach our Times. Some of them however were ſtill extant in the Time of *Theoſterictus*, who tells us that he had read thirteen Orations written by *Conſtantine*, ſurnamed *Copronymus*. But all he ſays of them is, that in none of them was mentioned the Invocation of Saints. Indeed *Conſtantine* allowed, as we have ſeen elſewhere (2), the Interceſſion, but not the Invocation of Saints.

(P) *Leo* was born, according to *Theophanes*, in 750; was taken by his Father, in 751, for Partner in the Empire; ſucceded him on the 13th of *September* 755, and died on the 8th of the ſame Month 780; ſo that he died in the 30th Year of his Age, having reigned 4 Years with his Father, and 25 alone, wanting ſix Days. Nothing remarkable happened in his Reign beſides the Converſion of *Telerus* King of the *Bulgarians*, who, moved with

(1) See above, p. 12.

(2) See vol. 3. p. 365.

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by her, in 771, a Son named *Conſtantine*, who ſucceeded him in 780, his Mother governing, as he was under Age, in his Name. But in Year of Chriſt 781.

an earneſt Deſire of embracing the Chriſtian Religion, left his Kingdom, and repaired to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received by the Emperor with extraordinary Marks of Kindneſs and Eſteem, and baptized by the Patriarch with the greateſt Solemnity. After his Baptiſm the Emperor, who was himſelf his Sponſor, created him a Patrician, married him to a near Relation of the Empreſs *Irene*, and raiſed him to the higheſt Honours of the Empire (1).

Leo was as great an Enemy to Images as his Father or Grandfather; revoked none of their Edicts, and would allow no Images to be publicly ſet up, or publicly worſhipped; but yet gave no Encouragement to Informers, ſuffered no Searches to be made, in private Houſes, after Pictures or Images, and contented himſelf with only reprimanding thoſe, who were arraigned or convicted of ſtill practiſing the condemned Superſtition. He flattered himſelf, that he ſhould thus more effectually wean them from their ſuperſtitious Practices, than by all the Severity and Rigour he could uſe. Indeed the worſt of Sects have flouriſhed the moſt, when under Perſecution, and inſenſibly mouldered away, when Toleration and Mercy took Place. The famous Saying, *Sanguis martyrum ſemen Chriſtianorum*, may, with as much Truth, be applied to every Religion, as it was, in Times of Perſecution, applied to the Chriſtian. This Conduct *Leo* purſued, during the four firſt Years of his Reign, but afterwards changed it on the following Occaſion. When his Father *Conſtantine* married him to *Irene* one of the Marriage Articles was, that ſhe ſhould neither worſhip Images herſelf, nor ever ſuffer them to be worſhipped by others. Whether ſhe then really was, or was only ſuſpected to be, addicted to that Superſtition, Hiſtory does not inform us. But in this all Hiſtorians agree, that at the Deſire of both Princes ſhe bound herſelf, in their Preſence, by a moſt ſolemn Oath to obſerve that Article moſt religiouſly ſo long as ſhe lived. But, without any Regard to the Sacredneſs of her Oath, ſhe had, after the Death of the Emperor *Conſtantine*, Images privately conveyed to her, and privately worſhipped them. As in moſt Courts there are as many Spies as Courtiers, and what is ſpoken or done there in Cloſets is proclaimed, in a ſhort Time, upon the Houſe-tops, *Leo* was ſoon informed of the ſuperſtitious Practices of his Wife, and charged her with them. But ſhe, not ſatisfied with denying the Charge, had even the Aſſurance to reproach the Emperor with want of Confidence in crediting his lying Informers rather than her, who had never deceived him. Hereupon *Leo*, who was better informed than ſhe imagined, cauſed her Cloſet, her Bedchamber, and even her Bed to be narrowly ſearched, and at laſt two Images were found concealed in her Pillow. Upon that Diſcovery the Emperor, provoked beyond meaſure in ſeeing his very Palace turned into a Temple of Idols, ſpared no Pains to find out the Perſons, who had had the Boldneſs to convey them thither; and he found in the End, that the *Papias*, or the Perſon, who was truſted, during the Night, with the Keys of the Gates of the Palace, had brought them in; that the Captain of the Guards, and the Empreſs's two Chamberlains *Strategius* and *Theophanes*, were privy to his bringing them in, and that they had all joined with the Empreſs in the idolatrous Worſhip ſhe paid to thoſe Images. The Emperor therefore ordered them to be immediately apprehended, to be ſeverely whipped, and to be ignominiouſly conveyed on Aſſes, through the moſt frequented Streets of *Conſtantinople*, to the public Jail. As for the Empreſs, ſhe boldly maintained to the laſt, that ſhe was an entire Stranger to the whole Affair, and that the two Images had been concealed in her Pillow either by ſome, who ſtill adhered to that Superſtition, but never ſuſpected that any one would have dared to ſearch her very Bed or her Bedchamber; or by ſome malicious Perſon with the wicked Deſign of interrupting the Harmony, that had hitherto reigned between her beloved Huſband and her, and

(1) Theoph. ad ann. Leon. 2.

Year of Chriſt 781.

in the very Beginning of her Regency, *Theophanes* ſays forty Days after the Death of the Emperor, ſome of the Senators and great Officers with that Harmony the Happineſs of both. *Irene*, ſays here *Maimburg*, was not ſo zealous a Catholic, as the holy Men mentioned above. But to do her Juſtice; if Catholiciſm conſiſts, as that Writer ſuppoſes it does, in the Worſhip of Images, *Irene* choſe rather to break a moſt ſolemn Oath, than to abſtain from that Worſhip; which is more perhaps than thoſe holy Men would have had Zeal or Courage enough to have done. As *Leo* was too well informed to doubt of the Guilt of his Wife, he bitterly reproached her with the Breach of her Oath, with want both of Religion and Honour, and driving her from his Preſence would never afterwards ſee her. *Maimburg* tells us that he ſaid all the brutiſh and ſhocking Things to her, that Paſſion and Rage could ſuggeſt. But even *Cedrenus*, his favourite Author, whom he quotes, ſays no more than that he called her, in a Paſſion, *a good for nothing Woman, eam nauci eſſe dixit* (1).

Leo lived but a very ſhort Time after this Quarrel; and *Theophanes*, the Author of the *Miſcella*, and *Cedrenus* gives us the following Account of his Death. As he was paſſionately fond of precious Stones, he took out of the Church of St. *Sophia* a Crown, which had been depoſited there by the Emperor *Mauricius* or *Heraclius*, and was enriched with Carbuncles of an ineſtimable Value, to wear it on Occaſion of ſome public Solemnity. But while he was wearing it, Carbuncles broke out on his Head, and at the ſame Time he was ſeized with a violent Fever, which ſoon put an End to his Life (2). I will not quarrel with *Baronius* or *Maimburg* about the Truth of this Account, (tho' many Things of this Nature have been related and credited by the contemporary credulous Hiſtorians, that excede all Belief) but think, that conſidering the Circumſtances of the Emperor's Death, we need not recur, with them, to ſupernatural Cauſes to account for it. Natural Cauſes are but too obvious, tho' entirely diſſembled by *Baronius*, and hinted at only by *Maimburg* as groundleſs Conjectures. That *Leo* was poiſoned, and poiſoned by his Wife, I will not ſay is a Thing paſt all doubt, as ſome have done; but neither is it *a groundleſs Conjecture*. She was, as all Authors agree, one of the moſt ambitious Women we read of in Hiſtory; and ſcrupled no Crime how unnatural ſoever and heinous to gratify her Ambition, as will appear in the Sequel. But by diſobliging the Emperor in the Manner we have ſeen, and thereby forfeiting his Favour, and with his Favour the Power ſhe had enjoyed to that Time, ſhe found herſelf reduced to the Condition of a private Perſon; and in that State ſhe was likely to continue, as the Emperor appeared irreconcileable, ſo long as he lived. But upon his Death ſhe knew that, her Son being yet a Child, the whole Power muſt devolve upon her, and that, during his Minority at leaſt, ſhe ſhould govern uncontrolled both him and the Empire. It is not therefore at all a groundleſs Conjecture, that a Woman of her unbounded Ambition and Spirit, and ſo abandonedly wicked, ſhould have been tempted to remove the only Perſon out of the Way, that ſtood between her and the Power ſhe aſpired to, and that being checked by no Motives of Religion, Conſcience or Honour, but rather ſpurred on by the Deſire of gratifying her Revenge as well as her Ambition, ſhe ſhould have yielded to the Temptation. It is certain at leaſt, if the above-mentioned Writers are to be credited, that the Emperor, who was then in the Flower of his Age, and had ever enjoyed moſt perfect Health, died ſoon after her Diſgrace, and that upon his Death ſhe was immediately acknowleged by her Friends at Court, with whom ſhe privately correſponded, and whom ſhe had perhaps employed as the Inſtruments of her Revenge and Ambition, for Regent of the Empire. As for the Fever, of which the Emperor died, and the Carbuncles attending it, which *Maimburg* deſcribes as minutely as if he had ſeen, examined and counted them, they might have been the

(1) Cedren. tom. 11. p. 469. Cedren. ubi ſupra.

(2) Theoph. ad ann. Leon. 5. Miſcell.

Effects

Officers of State, ſcorning to be governed by a Woman, formed a Deſign of driving out both her and her Son, and placing *Nicephorus* one of the late Emperor's Brothers on the Throne. But *Irene*, being timely informed of their Deſign, cauſed all, who were concerned in it, to be apprehended, to be publicly whipped, and confined to different Iſlands[f]. The Emperor had three other Brothers, who had been all honoured by him with the Title of *Cæſars* and *Nobiliſſimi*; and theſe, to put them out of a Condition of ever affecting the Imperial Crown, the Empreſs commanded to be ſhaved, to take holy Orders, and to adminiſter the Sacrament to the People on Chriſtmas day in the Church of St. *Sophia*, that all might know they were ſhaved and ordained, and conſequently rendered for ever incapable of the Imperial Dignity. On that Occaſion the Empreſs aſſiſted at Divine Service with her Son, attended by the great Officers of State and all the Nobility, to honour, with her Preſence, the firſt eccleſiaſtical Function of the degraded *Cæſars*[g].

Year of Chriſt 781.

Irene *governs during the Minority of her Son* Conſtantine.

Cauſes the late Emperor's Brothers to be ſhaved and ordained.

Irene's next Care was to chuſe proper Miniſters, that is, Miniſters ready to fall in with her in all her Views and Deſigns. And ſhe choſe accordingly the Patrician *Stauracius* for her Prime Miniſter, a Man of uncommon Abilities, a good Commander, and one entirely devoted to her; and filled all the other great Offices with Perſons, on whoſe Fidelity and Attachment to her Perſon and Intereſt ſhe knew ſhe could ſafely rely. At the ſame Time ſhe made it her Study to oblige the Army with Largeſſes, and to gain the Affections of the People and Clergy with an extraordinary Show of Religion and Piety. Swayed by her unbounded Ambition ſhe could not think of ever parting with her preſent Power and Authority; and to maintain the one and the other ſo long as ſhe lived ſhe began early to pur-

What Miniſters ſhe choſe.

[f] Theoph. ad ann. Leon. 1. Miſcell. l. 23.

[g] Idem ibid.

Effects of the Poiſon, that was adminiſtered to him; to that at leaſt they may be more probably aſcribed than to the Vengeance of Heaven upon the unhappy Prince for wearing a Crown only a few Hours, that was given to the Church; or for puniſhing thoſe, who were aſſiſting to his Wife in her ſuperſtitious Practices and the Breach of her Oath. But in the Deaths of all the Princes, who have oppoſed the Worſhip of Images, or indeed any other favourite Tenet of the *Romiſh* Church, in what Manner ſo ever they died, the Writers of that Church have diſcovered ſomething very extraordinary and quite unaccountable, that they might conſtrue it into Judgments and the Vengeance of Heaven. And with as much Reaſon might the Proteſtants conſtrue into Judgments the Death of *Henry* II. of *Charles* IX. of *Henry* III. of *France*, of *Philip* II. of *Spain*, and, not to mention others, of Queen *Mary* of *England*, who was cut off in the Flower of her Age at ſo ſeaſonable a Juncture for our great Queen *Elizabeth* and the Proteſtant Cauſe.

ſue

Year of Christ 781.

sue such Measures as appeared to her the best calculated to answer that Purpose.

She defeats the Saracens *and concludes an advantagious Peace with them.*

In the mean time the *Saracens*, hearing the Emperor was dead and the Empire governed by a Woman, laid hold of that Opportunity to break into the eastern Provinces, and surprise there some Cities and Strong-holds. But *Irene* immediately dispatched one of her Generals against them, who coming up with them in *Asia* gave them a total Overthrow, and obliged them not only to retire with great Loss, but to conclude a Peace upon Terms very advantagious to the Empire[h]. This Success greatly recommended *Irene* to the Esteem and Good-will of the People, and even reconciled to her many, who had not hitherto approved of her Measures.

She proposes a Marriage between the Emperor her Son and the Daughter of Charlemagne.

Year of Christ 782.

And now she had nothing, at present, to fear from the Enemies of the Empire in the East. But her Jealousy was roused by the Fame of *Charlemagne*'s Exploits and the Rapidity of his Conquests in the West; the more, as she was informed that he was at this Time in *Rome*, and pressed by the Pope to invade the Dukedom of *Naples*, and seize on the small Remains of the Empire in *Italy*. This she was sensible he might easily accomplish; and therefore to divert him from attempting it, she resolved, as she never wanted Resources, to amuse him with the Proposal of a Marriage between his Daughter *Rotrude* (Q) and the young Emperor *Constantine*; and she sent accordingly a very solemn Embassy to *Charlemagne*, at the Head of which was *Constantine* High Treasurer of the Empire, to propose that Match as a Bond of eternal Friendship and Amity between the two great Christian Powers. *Charlemagne*, flattering himself, that the Court of *Constantinople* would, upon such an Alliance, quite abandon *Adalgisus*, or at least not encourage or support him in his Pretensions to the Kingdom of the *Lombards*, which would prevent any further Disturbances in *Italy*, hearkened with great Pleasure to the Proposal, and the Marriage Articles were settled and agreed to on the one Side and the other. But as the Emperor was, at this Time, only eleven Years old, and *Rotrude* only nine, she was left in *France*, and an Eunuch of the Imperial Palace, named *Elisæus*, was left with her to teach her the Language, and the Manners of the *Greeks*[i]. But

[h] Theoph. ad ann. 2. Constantin.

[i] Theoph. Miscell. Zonar. Cedren.

(Q) *Rotrude* was *Charlemagne*'s eldest Daughter, born in 773. *Theophans* calls her *Herytrus* from the *Greek* Word ἐρυθρὸς, signifying *red*; no doubt thinking that the word *Rotrude* had the same Signification among the *Franks*.

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this Marriage never took Place; nor indeed did *Irene* design it ever should. She apprehended that should her Son marry the Daughter of so renowned and powerful a Prince, he would probably be governed by his Counsils rather than by hers, and might, depending upon his Protection, shake off the Yoke, and govern either by himself, or as his Father-in-law, who would not fail to espouse his Cause, should direct him. The Proposal served to divert *Charlemagne* from attempting, at the Instigation of the Pope, the Conquest of *Italy*. But *Irene*, when no longer threatened with that Danger, started so many Difficulties, that in the End *Charlemagne* himself thought it adviseable, which was all the crafty Woman wanted, to break off the Treaty. It was no sooner broken off than the unnatural Mother forced her Son, tho' extreamly desirous of an Alliance with *Charlemagne*, to marry an *Armenian*, named *Mary*, of an obscure Parentage and a very mean Education. The young Emperor was utterly averse to that Match, and earnestly begged his Mother would not insist upon his taking to his Bed and his Companion for Life one, to use the Expression of *Zonaras*, whom he utterly abhorred. But she was deaf to his Prayers and Entreaties, and apprehending her Power to be in no Danger from an obscure *Armenian*, or from her Friends and Relations, regardless of the Happiness of her Son she obliged him, in the End, to consent to the Match[k].

Year of Christ 782.

Her View therein.

The Treaty broken off and the young Emperor obliged by his Mother to marry an Armenian.

However she continued to amuse *Charlemagne* with the Match between his Daughter and her Son, till she had put the grand Design in Execution, which she had formed in the very Beginning of her Regency, that of restoring, throughout the Empire, the Use and the Worship of Images. She had bound herself, as has been related above, by a most solemn Oath never to worship Images herself, or suffer them to be worshipped by others. But unmindful of that Oath, and perhaps thinking it even meritorious to break it, if a Woman of her Character could have any Notion of Merit or Virtue, she no sooner found herself vested with Power, than she undertook to establish what she had so solemnly promised to abolish. However she proceded at first with great Caution, revoked none of the Edicts of the preceding Emperors against Images, but only connived at their being set up in some Churches, and would take no Notice of the Worship, that was given them by some of the Populace. Soon after, under Colour of granting to all an entire Liberty

She undertakes to re-establish the Worship of Images.

[k] Theoph. ad ann. Const. 13. Eginhard. in vit. Carol. Zonar. &c.

of

Year of Christ 782. *Grants Liberty of Conscience and recalls the banished Monks.* Year of Christ 783.

of Conscience, she declared it lawful for every one to hold, and publicly to maintain the Opinion with respect to Images, that should appear to them the best grounded, and at the same Time recalled the Monks, who in the preceding Reign had lain concealed in the Desarts, and whom she knew to be all most zealous Promoters of the Worship of Images. Thus were two of *Constantine*'s Edicts revoked, both issued after the Worship as well as the Use of Images had been condemned at *Constantinople* by 338 Bishops. By the one all were forbidden, under the severest Penalties, to defend, practise or maintain a Worship condemned by a General Council. By the other the Subjects of the Empire were restrained from leading idle and indolent Lives in Monasteries under Colour of Devotion, or distinguishing themselves from their Fellow-subjects by any particular Dress[l].

Paul *the Patriarch resigns.*

An Event is said to have happened at this Time, which greatly served to forward the Design of *Irene*, and encourage her to pursue it. It is thus related by *Theophanes*. *Paul*, Patriarch of the Imperial City, a Prelate of extraordinary Learning and Piety, finding himself indisposed, quitted thereupon the Patriarchal Throne, and withdrawing to a Monastery, took the monastic Habit, without imparting his Design either to the Emperor, or to the Regent his Mother. *Irene* no less surprised at the sudden Retreat, than concerned for the Loss of so worthy a Prelate, repaired with her Son, as soon as she heard of it, to the Monastery to learn from the Patriarch himself the true Cause of so unexpected a Resolution. But he, bursting into Tears as soon as she entered his Cell, cried out aloud before she could utter one Word, *O that I had never accepted the Episcopal Dignity in a Church, that was kept in Slavery, and cut off from, as well as anathematized by, all the other Patriarchal Churches on account of her Heresy*[m]. The Fathers of *Nice* add, that the Patriarch, who lay then at the Point of Death, owned, that being an Enemy to Images, he should have undergone the Fate of all other Heretics, and been condemned with the Devil to everlasting Darkness, had he not repented of his Error, and retracted it in the most public Manner he could[n]. *Irene*, continues *Theophanes*, greatly affected with the Words of the dying Patriarch, sent in great Haste, apprehending his End to be near, for the chief Patricians and Senators, to whom the holy Prelate, upon their entering his Cell, addressed

The Account given by the Fathers of Nice *and* Theophanes *of his Resignation.*

[l] Concil. Nic. 2. act. 2. [m] Theoph. ad ann. Const. 9. [n] Concil. Nic. 2. act. 2.

himſelf thus: You have all erred, you continue to err, and there is no Salvation for you, unleſs a General Council be convened, and the Error removed, that prevails among you. If ſo, replied the Patricians and Senators, why did you, at your Conſecration, ſolemnly renounce the Worſhip of Images, and ſign the Decree condemning that Worſhip? That is the very Crime, replied the Patriarch, the heinous Crime, that now afflicts and torments me; that is the Crime I now ſtrive, by a ſincere Repentance, to atone for, which I hope God will accept, and not puniſh me as I deſerve, for having been hitherto ſilent, and declined preaching the Truth, as it was my indiſpenſable Duty to do, leſt I ſhould thereby forfeit your Favour. Theſe were his laſt Words; and he had ſcarce uttered them when he expired greatly lamented by all, by the good Men as well as the bad, by the pious as well as the impious; that is by Men of both Parties, by the pious, who held the Lawfulneſs of Image-worſhip, as well as by the impious, who denied it. For he was a moſt holy Man, generous to the Poor beyond meaſure, worthy of the higheſt Reſpect and Eſteem, and one, in whom an entire Confidence was placed both by the Republic and the Empire[o]. Thus *Theophanes*. Year of Chriſt 783.

Thus *Theophanes*; and in this Account the Popiſh Writers triumph, eſpecially *Baronius* and *Maimburg*, as if they had carried their Cauſe. But ſhould we even allow the Account to be true, I ſhould be glad to know what can be inferred from it in Favour of Images. Is the Authority of one Man, how learned ſoever and wiſe, of a Man at the Point of Death, when the Underſtanding is commonly impaired, of Weight enough to counterbalance that of all the primitive Fathers, of all the learned and wiſe Men of the Catholic Church from the Times of the Apoſtles down to the eighth Century[p], of 338 Biſhops aſſembled in a General Council? I ſaid, *ſhould we allow the Account to be true*. But that it is not true; that, at leaſt, it is highly improbable, tho' related by contemporary Writers, may be eaſily ſhown. *Paul* was raiſed to the Patriarchal Dignity, according to all the Hiſtorians and *Theophanes* himſelf [q] by the Emperor *Leo* in 780, the laſt Year of his Reign and his Life; ſo that *Paul*, who died in 784, muſt have preſided in that Church four Years under *Irene*. Now as he could not but know that ſhe had nothing ſo much at Heart as to eſtabliſh the Uſe and the Worſhip of Images, and was *Evidently fabulous.*

[o] Theoph. ubi ſupra. [p] See vol. 3. p. 236. [q] Theoph. ad ann. 5. Leon.

Year of Christ 783.

purſuing all the Meaſures, that appeared to her the beſt calculated for that Purpoſe, it is highly improbable, or rather altogether incredible, that he ſhould have really believed the Doctrine of Image-worſhip to be the true Catholic Doctrine, nay and been even perſuaded, that there was no Salvation for thoſe, who did not hold and profeſs it, and nevertheleſs have continued, to the Time of his Death, to profeſs the oppoſite Doctrine; and that, when he knew, that he could by no other Means more effectually recommend himſelf to the Favour of *Irene*, in whom centered all Power, than by renouncing the one, in compliance with the Dictates of his Conſcience, and embracing the other. Had he renounced, under *Leo*, the Worſhip of Images merely to qualify himſelf for the Patriarchal Dignity, as is affirmed by *Theophanes*, he would, without doubt, have declared for that Worſhip, as ſoon as the Power devolved on *Irene*, and not continued to oppoſe it, as he is ſaid to have done, againſt his Intereſt as well as his Conſcience. As he therefore continued to oppoſe it, and to oppoſe it with great Zeal, as appears from *Theophanes*, to the Time of his Reſignation, it is not at all to be doubted, but that he acted therein agreeably to his Opinion and Conſcience, and that finding *Irene* was determined to reſtore the condemned Superſtition, he choſe rather to reſign than contend with her, or be any ways acceſſory to ſo wicked a Deſign. As for his pretended Converſion, Repentance and Retractation, the whole was probably invented either by *Irene* herſelf, or by the good Fathers of *Nice*; as were many other Converſions, Apparitions, Miracles, Prophecies, which, with the Aſſiſtance of the Monks, they obtruded on the credulous Populace at a Time when none dared to diſprove them (R).

Paul

(R) Among the other ſtrange Events, that are ſaid to have happened at this Time, all well calculated to promote the Deſign of *Irene*, and recommend it to the ignorant Multitude, the following is worthy of Notice, being gravely related by *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, the Author of the *Miſcella*, *Zonaras*, *Gregoras*, and, we may be ſure, not paſſed over in Silence by *Baronius* and his Tranſcriber *Maimburg*. In the firſt Year of *Conſtantine*'s, or rather of *Irene*'s Reign, near the long Wall of *Thrace*, the Wall, that was built about 40 Miles from *Conſtantinople* to protect that Province againſt the ſudden Irruptions of the Barbarians, was diſcovered by a Peaſant digging there the Body of a Man in a Stone Coffin with the following Inſcription in *Greek*; Chriſt *is to be born of the Virgin* Mary: *I believe in him. O Sun thou ſhalt ſee me again under* Conſtantine *and* Irene(1). This pretended Diſcovery and Prediction, as no Deceit was then ſuſpected, which plainly ſhows the Ignorance of the Age, greatly ſerved to recommend *Irene* to the Reſpect and Eſteem of the People, and were, no doubt, invented for that Purpoſe. With ſuch ſeaſonable Diſcoveries and Pre-

(1) Theoph. ad ann. Conſtantin. 4.

dictions

Paul being dead, *Irene*'s chief Care and Concern was to find a fit Perſon to ſubſtitute in his Room, that is, a Perſon both willing and able to promote her Deſign: And as theſe were the only Qualifications ſhe required in the new Patriarch, ſhe was not long at a Loſs, whom ſhe ſhould chuſe for that Dignity. Her Secretary, named *Taraſius*, a Name famous in the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, was a Man of uncommon Abilities and Addreſs, deſcended from an illuſtrious and conſular Family, as zealous a Friend to Images as the Empreſs herſelf, privy to her Deſign, and as ready to purſue as able to contrive the moſt proper Means of putting it in Execution. Upon him therefore ſhe fixed; but apprehending that, as he was ſtill a Layman, and it was ſtrictly forbidden by the Canons to raiſe a Layman to the Epiſcopal Dignity, his Election might not be approved by the People, whoſe Concurrence ſhe wanted, ſhe undertook to gain their Approbation and Conſent, before they could be acquainted with the Choice ſhe had made; nay, and to make the Nomination of *Taraſius*, which required great Craft and Addreſs, to come firſt from them. With that View ſhe aſſembled the People in the great Hall of the Imperial Palace of *Blachernæ*, and there pretending the greateſt Concern for the Loſs of the late Patriarch, who ſhe knew was by all greatly beloved, ſhe told them, that ſince he had been ſnatched from them by Death, neither the Emperor nor ſhe would take upon them to appoint him a Succeſſor, without conſulting them, who were to be directed by him, in all ſpiritual Matters, the only Matters of Moment, as well as they; that the Emperor had called them together for that Purpoſe, and did not at all doubt, but that, laying aſide all Partiality, all private Affection, they would regard, in ſo important a Choice, Merit alone. She added, that indeed *Taraſius* was of all Men in the Empire the beſt qualified, in every Reſpect, for ſo important a Truſt; that he was a Perſon of too extraordinary a Merit to be overlooked on ſuch an Occaſion; that both ſhe and the Emperor had firſt of all caſt their Eyes upon him. At theſe Words the whole Multitude cried out with one Voice, Taraſius *ſhall be our Biſhop*; *we chuſe* Taraſius; *he ſhall govern us and no other.* *Irene*, who had,

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Taraſius *appointed Patriarch in the Room of* Paul.

Year of Chriſt 784.

The Craft and Addreſs of Irene *and* Taraſius *on that Occaſion.*

dictions Hiſtory abounds both ſacred and profane: And I ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould give more Credit to this Prediction, than to that, which was diſcovered ingraved on a Plate of Braſs a little Time before the Battle of *Granicus*, fortelling the imminent Deſtruction of the *Perſian* Empire by the *Macedonians* (2), or to many other Predictions of the like Nature ſeaſonably invented to ſerve ſome preſent Purpoſe.

(2) Plut. in Alexand.

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in all likelihood, privately engaged before hand ſome of the Heads of the People, finding her Deſign ſucceeded ſo well, reſumed her Diſcourſe, and addreſſing the Multitude congratulated them on the Choice they had made, extolled the Merit of *Taraſius*; but you muſt know, ſhe added, that he, tho' thus unanimouſly choſen both by you and by us, declines accepting a Dignity, which is ſo ambitiouſly ſought for by others, and will not acquieſce in our Choice. Here the People cried out again, *we chuſe him, and he muſt acquieſce*; *we will chuſe no other*; Taraſius *is our Biſhop, our Father, our Paſtor*. Here *Taraſius*, who had attended the Emperor to the Aſſembly, riſing up returned, in the firſt Place, Thanks to the Emperor and Empreſs, ſtiling them the Guardians of the Chriſtian Faith, as well as to the People, for the good Opinion they entertained of him, and the Honour they had done him; then after a long Deſcant on the Importance of the Truſt, to which he was called; on his want of Abilities to diſcharge it as he ought; on the unhappy Diviſions, that reigned in the Church; on the deplorable Condition of the Church of *Conſtantinople* in particular, which, he ſaid, was anathematized by all the other Patriarchal Churches, nay and by all the Churches both in the Eaſt and the Weſt (T); and laſtly on the Neceſſity of redreſſing ſuch Evils, and uniting in one and the ſame Faith all Chriſtian Churches, ſince they were all founded on one and the ſame Rock *Chriſt Jeſus* (not St. *Peter*), and all acknowleged him for their Author, after, I ſay, a long Deſcant on theſe Subjects, he told the Aſſembly, as had, no doubt, been before hand agreed

(T) *Taraſius* was, it ſeems, very little acquainted with the State of the Church at this Time either in the Eaſt or the Weſt. In the Weſt all the Churches, the *Roman* alone excepted, agreed with that of *Conſtantinople* in condemning the Worſhip of Images; and as to the Uſe of Pictures and Images, they looked upon it as a Thing in itſelf quite indifferent, as will be ſhown hereafter; and therefore could not excommunicate and anathematize the Church of *Conſtantinople* for not uſing them in her Worſhip, or not allowing them to be uſed. In the Eaſt the Uſe as well as the Worſhip of Images had been condemned but 30 Years before, and conſequently in *Taraſius*'s Memory, by a Council of 338 Biſhops; and the Decree condemning the one and the other continued in full Force till it was tacitly revoked by *Irene*, as has been related above. *Hadrian* ſeems to have been better acquainted with the State of the Eaſtern Church than the new Patriarch; for in his Letter to *Conſtantine* and *Irene* he tells them, that *all the People in the Eaſt had erred about Images till it pleaſed Providence to place them on the Throne*, which is as much as to ſay, that all the Churches in the Eaſt condemned the Uſe and the Worſhip of Images, as well as the Church of *Conſtantinople*, which therefore could not, as was aſſerted by *Taraſius*, be anathematized on that Account by all the other Churches. But *Taraſius* knew that he might impoſe on his Audience, the ignorant Multitude, the moſt palpable Falſhoods.

between

between him and *Irene*, that the only Means of removing the Evils he ſo juſtly complained of was, to have the Points, that divided them from all other Churches, impartially examined, and finally determined by a General Council; that if they conſented to the aſſembling of one, he ſhould think himſelf bound in Conſcience to acquieſce in their Choice; but if they did not conſent he was unalterably determined to concern himſelf, upon no Conſideration whatever, with the Government of a ſchiſmatical Church, that was determined to continue in her Schiſm, and rejected the only Means of ever removing it. He had not yet done ſpeaking when the whole Aſſembly, declaring with repeated Shouts their Aſſent to the calling of a Council, proclaimed *Taraſius* their Paſtor and Patriarch; and he was accordingly ordained on Chriſtmas-day of the preſent Year 784[t]. Year of Chriſt 784.

Irene, having thus engaged the People on her Side, and with them ſome of the leading Men in the Senate, diſpatched *Conſtantine* Biſhop of *Leontium* in *Sicily*, and *Dorotheus* Biſhop of *Naples* in *Campania* to *Rome* with a Letter to the Pope, in the Emperor's Name and her own, to acquaint his Holineſs with the Promotion of *Taraſius*, and the Reſolution, which the Emperor and ſhe had taken jointly with him, to reſtore the venerable Images, to re-eſtabliſh the Practice, that had obtained in the Church ever ſince the Times of the Apoſtles, and to aſſemble for that Purpoſe a General Council in the Imperial City. In the Letter they moſt earneſtly entreated the Pope to repair to *Conſtantinople* in Perſon, aſſuring him, that, agreeably to the Orders they had tranſmitted to the Governor of *Sicily*, he ſhould be every-where received and entertained, on his Journey from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople* as well as on his Return from *Conſtantinople* to *Rome*, in a Manner ſuitable to his Dignity. They added, that if he did not chuſe to come in Perſon, which his known Zeal for the true Catholic Faith would not allow them to ſuppoſe, they did not doubt but he would ſend two Legates, Men of Probity and Learning, to aſſiſt, in his Name at the Council. The Direction of the Letter was, *to the moſt holy and bleſſed* Hadrian, *Pope of old* Rome. But in the Letter he is ſtiled *the firſt Biſhop, the Biſhop, who preſides in the Room and Chair of St.* Peter[u]. At the ſame Time the new Patriarch diſpatched to *Rome* one of his Presbyters, named *Leo*, with an Account of his Promotion, and a Confeſſion of his Faith. But the Letter he wrote

Irene *acquaints the Pope with the Promotion of* Taraſius *and her Deſign to aſſemble a General Council.*

And invites the Pope to it.

[t] Theoph. ad ann. Conſtant. 9.

[u] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 10.

to

Year of Christ 784.

to the Pope on that Occaſion has not reached the preſent Time. *Conſtantine*, *Dorotheus*, and *Leo* ſet out together from *Conſtantinople*; but on their Arrival in *Sicily*, *Conſtantine* and *Dorotheus* were by the Governor of that Iſland ſent back to *Conſtantinople*, purſuant to an Order he had received from Court, and *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Catanea*, and *Epiphanius*, Legate of the Archbiſhop of *Sardinia*, were appointed in their Room; which has led *Baronius* into a Miſtake [w] as if two ſolemn Embaſſies had been ſent to *Hadrian* on this Occaſion.

And the other three Patriarchs.

Taraſius wrote at the ſame Time to the other three Patriarchs, *viz.* of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jeruſalem*, to acquaint them with his Promotion, and invite them to the General Council, that would ſoon meet, by the Appointment of their moſt religious Emperors to heal the Diviſions, that had reigned ſo long in the Church. His Letter contains an ample Confeſſion of his Faith, wherein he condemns and anathematizes, by Name, all the Hereſiarchs, that had been condemned and anathematized by the Church from the Times of the Apoſtles to his, and among theſe Pope *Honorius*, as *a Vine of* Sodom, *and of the Fields of* Gomorrha, *whoſe Grapes are Grapes of Gall, and Cluſters bitter* [x]. He admits the Invocation as well as the Interceſſion of Saints and approves of the Picture of our Saviour repreſented in the Figure of a Lamb [y].

The Pope applauds their Deſign.

In the mean Time *Theodorus*, *Epiphanius*, and *Leo* arrived at *Rome*, and were received there with extraordinary Marks of Joy. The Pope ſent for them as ſoon as he heard of their Arrival, and underſtanding from the Emperor's Letter, that they were reſolved to reſtore the ſacred and venerable Images, and aſſemble for that Purpoſe a General Council, he returned Thanks to the Almighty for inſpiring them with ſo godly a Reſolution. Some Days after he anſwered the Letter he had received from the Emperors by another of an extraordinary Length, calculated to confirm and encourage them in the Reſolution they had taken. He begins with commending, and in a very high Strain, the true Catholic Zeal of *Conſtantine* and *Irene* in undertaking to re-eſtabliſh the ancient Practice of the Church, a Practice, that had obtained ever ſince the Times of the Apoſtles; and compares them, on that Account, to *Conſtantine the Great* and to *Helena*, by whom the Chriſtian Religion was firſt eſtabliſhed in

[w] Bar. ad ann. 785. p. 369. Vide Pagi ad eund. ann. p. 372.

[x] Deut. 32. 32.

[y] Apud Bar. ad ann. 785. & Concil. Nic. 2. act. 2.

the

the Empire. He tells them that no human Tongue can expreſs the Joy their Letter has given him; congratulates them on their being choſen by Heaven for ſo meritorious and ſo great an Undertaking, and to confirm them in what he calls the true Catholic Doctrine concerning the Uſe and the Worſhip of Images, he undertakes to prove the Lawfulneſs of the one and the other; nay, and to ſhow that both had, ever ſince the Apoſtles Times, prevailed in, and been approved of by the Church. Year of Chriſt 784.

And in his Anſwer undertakes to prove the Lawfulneſs of Image-worſhip.

To ſhow that the Uſe of Images had been received and approved by the Church ever ſince the Times of the Apoſtles, he begins with the Reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, who came to the Crown in the fourth Century, and gravely relates, from the fabulous Acts of Pope *Silveſter*, the following Story. *Conſtantine*, ſays he, being grievouſly afflicted with the Leproſy, dreamt one Night that the holy Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, appearing to him, adviſed him to ſend for Pope *Silveſter*, who, they ſaid, lay concealed in Mount *Soracte* to avoid the Perſecution, but would come, if ſent for, and ſhow him a Fiſh-pond, in which, if he waſhed three Times, he ſhould be clean. *Conſtantine* no ſooner awaked than he ſent for *Silveſter*, and having acquainted him with his Dream, asked him what Gods *Peter* and *Paul* were, and whether he could ſhow him their Pictures. The Pope anſwered, they were no Gods, but the Apoſtles of God, and ſent immediately one of his Deacons for their Pictures, which the Emperor no ſooner ſaw than he cried out, theſe are the very Perſons, who appeared to me, ſhow me the Pond. *Silveſter* ſhowed it; the Emperor waſhed in it; was cleaned, and baptized ſoon after. Behold, concludes *Hadrian*, from the very Beginning of our Religion all Chriſtians had Images. As not the leaſt mention is made by *Euſebius*, who wrote the Life of *Conſtantine*, or by any other contemporary Hiſtorian, of that Emperor's having ever perſecuted the Chriſtians, or his having been infected with, and miraculouſly cured of a Leproſy, and beſides it is certain, (if *Euſebius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Jerom*, *Ambroſe*, *Athanaſius*, and the 359 Biſhops of the Council of *Rimini* held under *Conſtantius*, the Son of *Conſtantine*, are to be credited) that he was not baptized at *Rome*, but at *Nicomedia* a little before his Death. I ſhould not have thought ſo abſurd and improbable a Tale, tho' gravely related by a great Pope, worthy of a Place here, had it not been to ſhow how utterly unacquainted Men were, at leaſt the Advocates for Images were, in thoſe Days

The Tale of Conſtantine's Baptiſm.

Year of Christ 784.

with the History of past Times and how distressed for want of Proofs from true History to support their Cause, since they were obliged to recur for that Purpose to such Fables and fabulous Legends, as even they are now ashamed of, who maintain the same Cause. Had *Hadrian* been but the least acquainted with the History of his own Church, he would have known, that *Constantine* embraced the Christian Religion in the Time of Pope *Melchiades*, the Predecessor of *Silvester*, and that he appointed him one of the Judges in the famous Controversy between *Cæcilianus* of *Carthage* and the Donatists[z]. But should we even allow the Story as told by *Hadrian* to be true, it would not follow from thence, that both the Use and the Worship of Images had obtained in the Church, and obtained ever since the Times of the Apostles, but only that the Use had obtained, and not even that till the fourth Century.

His Arguments for setting up Images in Churches.

Hadrian having made it appear, in the manner we have seen, that the Use of Images prevailed among Christians from the very Beginning of the Christian Religion, *ab ipsis sanctæ fidei nostræ rudimentis*, (for that is the Consequence he draws from the Tale related above) undertakes in the next Place to prove that such a Practice was pleasing to God; and argues thus: All Things, that are appointed by human Discretion for the Honour of God, are pleasing to him; thus *Abel* in Honour of God offered up the first Fruits, and God was pleased with his Offering; *Noah* in Honour of God built an Altar, and upon that Altar offered Sacrifice, which was acceptable to God; *Jacob* in Honour of God erected a Pillar, and God approved what he had done. Now Images were appointed by human Discretion for the Honour of God; for in them we do not honour the Gold, the Brass, the Marble, the Colours, but the Servants of God, the Virgin *Mary*, the Apostles, the Martyrs, whom they represent; and the Honour we give to the Servants of God terminates in God. Excellent Divinity! And might not the Pagan Philosophers, upon the same Principle, and by the same Method of arguing have justified, against the Fathers, the Use of Images among them as well as the Honour or Worship they gave them? Their Images too were appointed by human Discretion for the Honour of God; for it was not the Gold, the Brass, the Marble, or the Colours they honoured, but the true God, or the Servants of the true God represented to them in their Images, as has been demonstrated elsewhere[a]. In like manner the golden Calf was appointed

[z] See vol. 1. p. 87, 91.

[a] See vol. 3. p. 215. note B. & p. 217. note C.

by human Diſcretion for the Honour of God, and ſo were the Calves ſet up by *Jeroboam* at *Dan* and *Bethel*; for in them the *Jews* worſhipped *the God of* Iſrael, *who brought them out of the Land of* Egypt[b]; and we cannot ſuppoſe them to have been all ſo entirely deſtitute of common Senſe as really to believe, that the Images, which they had juſt ſeen made, had brought them out of the Land of *Egypt*. Thoſe Images therefore were appointed by human Diſcretion only as Symbols of God, in which and by which he was to be honoured; and yet they were not pleaſing, but highly diſpleaſing to God. I might add, that, if whatever is appointed by human Diſcretion for the Honour of God, is pleaſing to him, the caſting Images out of the Churches, and deſtroying them was pleaſing to him, ſince that was appointed to be done for the Honour of God, or to prevent the Honour, that is due to him alone, being given to others. Year of Chriſt 784.

The Inſtance of the Cherubims and the brazen Serpent quite foreign to his Purpoſe.

The other Proofs, offered by the Pope in Favour of Images, are taken partly from Scripture, and partly from the Fathers, but all alike quite impertinent and foreign to the Purpoſe. From Scripture he urges the Command given to *Moſes* by God himſelf to make two Cherubims, or the Images of two Cherubims, over the Mercy-ſeat; and tho' thoſe Images were not worſhipped, nor ſo much as ſeen by the People, he concludes, that it is not only lawful for Chriſtians to make Images, but to worſhip them. In like manner from God's commanding *Moſes* to make the brazen Serpent, and ſet it up for a Sign, he concludes with an Exclamation, *O the Madneſs of thoſe, who will not worſhip Images! the Images of our Saviour, of his Mother, of the Saints, by whoſe Virtue the World ſubſiſts, and Mankind are ſaved! ſhall we, who believe, that the* Iſraelites *were healed by beholding the brazen Serpent, doubt of our being ſaved by beholding and worſhipping the Images of* Chriſt *and the Saints?* Had the Pope recollected that tho' the brazen Serpent was made by God's own Command, which can be ſaid of none of his Images, and wrought far greater Miracles than the moſt miraculous of his Images, yet King *Hezekiah* broke it in Pieces, when he found the People worſhipped it, and was ſaid to have done therein *that which was right in the Sight of the Lord*[c], his Holineſs would have taken Care not to bring in or mention the brazen Serpent on this Occaſion. But he was, it ſeems, better acquainted with the monkiſh Legends than he was with his Bible. However he alleges ſeveral

[b] Exod. 32. ver. 4. 1 Kings 12. ver. 28. [c] 2 Kings 18. ver. 3, 4.

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Passages out of the Bible to show that the Use of Images and the Worship are there approved and recommended; but to find out what Relation those Passages have either to the Use or the Worship of Images, or indeed to Images at all, is no easy Task; and I shall leave it to the Reader. The Passages are; *Honour and Majesty are in his Presence*[d]; *thy Face will I seek*[e]; *the Rich among the People shall entreat thy Face*[f]; *Lord lift up the Light of thy Countenance upon us*[g]; *in that Day there shall be an Altar to the Lord in the midst of the Land of* Egypt, *and a Pillar at the Border thereof to the Lord*[h]; *Honour and Majesty are before him*; *Strength and Beauty are in his Sanctuary*[i]; *Lord, I have loved the Habitation of thy House, and the Tabernacle of thy Honour*[k]. In all the New Testament the Pope could find but one single Passage, that he thought could any-ways authorize the Use and the Worship of Images, *viz.* that of St. *Paul* to the *Hebrews*, *by Faith* Jacob, *when he was a dying, blessed both the Sons of* Joseph, *and worshipped upon the Top of his Staff*[l]. This Passage the Pope, leaving out the Preposition *upon*, reads thus; *and worshipped the Top of his Staff*. That Staff he supposes to have been the Staff of his Son *Joseph*, and concludes, that as *Jacob* gave that Honour and Worship to the Staff of *Joseph* not for its own Sake, but for the Sake of him, who bore it; so may we honour and worship the Images of the Saints, not for their own Sake, but for the Sake of those, whom they represent. But the Meaning of the Apostle is obvious, and one would think that no Child, who can read, could mistake it, *viz.* that *Jacob*, being on his Death-bed, sate up leaning on the Top of his Staff to support his weak Body, while he blessed his Children, and worshipped.

And likewise his Passages from Scripture.

The Passages he quotes from the Fathers either impertinent or corrupted.

As for the Fathers, I shall not trouble the Reader with the many Passages the Pope alleges out of their Writings in Support of his Cause, but only observe, 1. That tho' in the Beginning of his Letter he undertakes to show that Images had been both used and worshipped in the Church ever since the Apostles Times, yet for so ancient a Practice he quotes not a single Father, who lived before the fourth Century, but several, who flourished in the fifth, in the sixth, and some, who wrote even as late as the seventh. 2. That the Passages, he alleges out of the genuine Works of the Fathers, prove no more than that Images were used, from the latter End of the fourth

[d] Psal. 96. 6. [e] Psal. 27. 8. [f] Psal. 45. 12. [g] Psal. 4. 6.
[h] Isa. 19. 19. [i] Psal. 96. 6. [k] Psal. 26. 8. [l] Heb. 11. 21.

Century

Century to the Beginning of the ſeventh, as mere Ornaments, as Helps to Memory, as Books for ſuch as could not read. 3. That ſome of his Texts are ſtrangely altered and corrupted, and ſome quoted from ſpurious Pieces. Among the ſpurious Pieces we may well reckon the Epiſtle of St. *Baſil* to the Emperor *Julian*, wherein that Saint makes the Worſhip of Images an Article of his Creed, and inſerts it next to *the Remiſſion of Sins* in the following Words, *for the obtaining of which I honour, worſhip, and adore the Images of our Saviour, of the Virgin* Mary, *of the Apoſtles, Prophets, and Martyrs agreeably to the Apoſtolic Tradition; and ſuch a Practice ought not to be forbidden.* This is the only pertinent Text the Pope alleges; but the Piece, from which it is quoted, is now rejected by the Learned of all Perſuaſions as unqueſtionably ſpurious[m]. And this is all the Pope had to offer in Behalf of his Apoſtolic Tradition concerning the Uſe and the Worſhip of Images. Year of Chriſt 784.

In the remaining Part of his Letter *Hadrian* loudly complains of the Promotion of *Taraſius* raiſed, in defiance of the ſacred Laws and Canons of the Church, from a Layman to the Patriarchal Dignity, and appointed to teach what he himſelf had not yet learnt. He thinks it no leſs abſurd and prepoſterous that a Layman ſhould be truſted with the Care and the Direction of Souls, than that an Eccleſiaſtic, who had never borne Arms and was utterly unacquainted with the military Art, ſhould be truſted with the Command of an Army. He nevertheleſs declares himſelf ready to acquieſce in the Election of the new Patriarch, however uncanonical, and to acknowlege him for his Fellow-Biſhop, however unequal in other Reſpects to ſo great a Charge, provided he zealouſly concurred with his moſt pious and Catholic Sovereigns in promoting the Catholic Cauſe, in extirpating the Hereſy, that had ſo long prevailed, and in reſtoring the ſacred and venerable Images to the Honour and Worſhip, that had ever been paid them. Zeal for Images was the only Qualification required at this Time in a Biſhop; and indeed the Biſhops, who aſſiſted at the Council, which we ſhall ſoon have Occaſion to ſpeak of, ſeem to have had no other. But if an unexperienced Layman is no more to be truſted with the Care of Souls than an unexperienced Eccleſiaſtic is to be truſted with the Command of an Army, Zeal for Images could no more qualify the Layman for the one, than it could the Eccleſiaſtic for the other. The Pope cloſes his Letter with entreating

Complains of the uncanonical Promotion of Taraſius.

But is willing to approve it if by his means Images are reſtored.

[m] See Cave's Life of St. Baſil, p. 222.

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the Emperor and his most religious Mother *Irene*, as they tendered the Salvation of their Souls, to cause the Council, that had condemned the holy Images, to be condemned and anathematized, to defend and maintain the Primacy of the *Roman* Church, the Head of all Christian Churches; to oblige the Bishop of their Imperial City to quit the haughty and presumptuous Title of *Universal Patriarch*, and lastly to order the Patrimonies of St. *Peter*, which their Predecessors had seized, to be forthwith restored. A most shameless Demand in one, who possessed so many rich Cities and Provinces, of which his Predecessors had robbed the Emperors and the Empire [n].

His Answer to the Patriarch.

At the same Time the Pope answered the Letter he had received from the new Patriarch. The Direction was *Hadrian Bishop and Servant of the Servants of God to his beloved Brother the Patriarch* Tarasius. He freely tells him that he was grieved to hear of his Promotion, but that he is entirely satisfied with his Confession of Faith, wherein he receives the six General Councils, and promises to *worship* and to *adore* the holy Images; that nevertheless he dares not approve of his Consecration, as it is contrary to the known Laws of the Church, but upon Condition that he undertakes to restore the ancient Practice of the Catholic Church [o].

Declines assisting at the Council.

Constantine and *Irene* had pressed the Pope, as we have seen, to repair in Person to *Constantinople*, and flattered themselves that his Zeal would have surmounted all Difficulties. But *Hadrian*, recollecting that he had employed all his Interest with *Charlemagne* to get the *Greeks* driven quite out of *Italy*; that the Emperors had not yet yielded, but still continued to claim as their own the Countries he possessed, and that they must consequently look upon him not only as an Enemy, but as an Usurper and Rebel, and might treat him accordingly, notwithstanding the Zeal they pretended for Images, he thought it advisable not to put it in their Power, but to consult in the first Place his own Safety. Excusing himself therefore, on account of his Age, from undertaking so long a Journey, he appointed *Peter* Archpriest of the *Roman* Church, and the Abbot of the Monastery of St. *Sabas*, named likewise *Peter*, to assist at the Council with the Character of his Legates in his Room; and by them he sent his Answer to the Letters of the Emperor and the Patriarch [p].

But sends Legates to it.

[n] Concil. Nic. 2. act. 2. Act. 2. Anast. in Præf. Concil. [o] Concil. Nic. 2. ibid. [p] Concil. Nic. 2.

No

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No Biſhops from the Weſt, beſides the Pope, were invited to the Council either by the Empreſs or the Patriarch; and none aſſiſted at it, beſides the Pope, either in Perſon or by their Deputies. It there fore entirely conſiſted, tho' ſtiled œcumenical, of the Pope's Legates and the eaſtern Biſhops; nay, and of ſuch only of the caſtern Biſhops as were Subjects of the Empire, As for the three Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem*, and the Biſhops under their Juriſdiction, *Taraſius*, it is true, wrote and ſent Deputies to acquaint them with the Deſign of his moſt religious Sovereigns, of putting an End to the unhappy Diviſions of the Church by a General Council, and invite them to it; but with what Succeſs the Reader may learn from *Baronius*. The Deputies, ſays the Annaliſt, ſent by *Taraſius* to the three Patriarchs being told, on their Arrival in *Paleſtine*, by the Monks there, that *Theodore* of *Jeruſalem* was dead; that the Chriſtians were moſt cruelly perſecuted in *Egypt* and in *Syria* by the new Caliph *Aaron*; that their Journey to *Alexandria* and *Antioch* would give great Jealouſy to the *Saracens*, and in all likelihood prove fatal not only to them, but to all the Chriſtians in thoſe Parts, they laid aſide all Thoughts of proceding further. However to ſatisfy, in ſome degree, the Empreſs and the Patriarch, the Monks, aſſembling in the Deſart, choſe two of their Body *John* and *Thomas*, to repreſent the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* in the Council, and teſtify to the Fathers their orthodox Belief with reſpect to the Point in Diſpute, the Worſhip of Images[q]. From this Account of *Baronius*, and it is entirely agreeable to what we read in *Theophanes* and all the other contemporary Writers, it is manifeſt, that none of the above-mentioned Patriarchs aſſiſted at the Council either in Perſon or by their Deputies or Legates, the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem* being then dead, and the Monks, who are ſaid to have repreſented the other two, being ſent by their Brethren the Monks, and not by the Patriarchs, who knew nothing of them or the Council. And yet theſe very Monks are ſtiled, throughout the Acts of the Council, *the Legates of the Eaſtern Patriarchs*; nay, and they had the Aſſurance to ſubſcribe themſelves *the Legates of the three Apoſtolic Sees* Alexandria, Antioch *and* Jeruſalem; and their Subſcriptions are commonly produced to ſhow that the Patriarchs were all unanimous in defining the Lawfulneſs of Image-worſhip, and con-

No other Biſhops from the Weſt invited to it.

Three eaſtern Patriarchs not preſent either in Perſon or by their Deputies.

The Monks their pretended Deputies not ſent by them.

q Baron. ad ann. 785. p. 383.

demning

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demning the Council, that had declared ſuch a Worſhip unlawful, and idolatrous.

Nor authorized to act in their Name.

As the two Monks, ſays here *Maimburg* pretending to ſolve a Difficulty, which he thinks none had been able to ſolve before, as the two Monks *John* and *Thomas* were not ſent by the Patriarchs, but by the Monks of *Paleſtine* without their Knowlege, ſome Writers have concluded, that the Patriarchs were no-ways concerned in the Council. But theſe Writers were not aware, that the Council did not meet till a Year and more after the Arrival of the Monks at *Conſtantinople*, and that the Patriarchs had Time enough, and might, during that Interval, have found Means to authorize the Monks to act in their Name, and to veſt them with the neceſſary Powers for that Purpoſe: And that they did ſo is very certain[r]. And that they did not ſo is very certain; for by no other Means could the Patriarchs have impowered the Monks to act in their Name, but either by Letters; and the Letters would have been read in the Council, or by new Deputies; and they would have appeared in the Council. But it is very certain, that no Letters were read in the Council from the Patriarchs, that no Deputies from them appeared either at *Conſtantinople* or at *Nice*. It is certain at leaſt, that no mention is made of either in the Acts of the Council, or by any of the contemporary Writers, not even by *Theophanes*, who was preſent, and has omitted nothing, that could any-ways redound to the Honour of an Aſſembly, which he has taken ſo much Pains to recommend to Poſterity, and but too often at the Expence of Truth. Beſides, the two Monks themſelves declared in the Council, that they, *tho' ignorant Inhabitants of the Deſart, tho' unexperienced, tho' Idiots*, had been choſen by their Brethren to teſtify the orthodox Belief of thoſe, who dared not ſo much as to ſpeak of ſuch Matters, much leſs to receive or to write Letters concerning them[s]. An inconteſtable Proof that the Patriarchs neither did nor could authorize by Deputies or by Letters, the two Monks to act in their Name, during the Interval between their Arrival at *Conſtantinople* and the meeting of the Council. And thus has *Maimburg* olved a Difficulty, which no Man had been able to ſolve before him.

The Letter of the Monks of Paleſtine *to* Taraſius.

The two Monks brought with them a Letter from their Brethren in the Deſart to *Taraſius*, wherein they recommend to his Holineſs

[r] Maimb. Hiſt. Icon. l. 3. p. 422, 423.

[s] Concil. Nic. 2. act. 3.

their

their Deputies, who, they ſay, will inform him of the Orthodoxy of the Patriarchs; acquaint him with their having diverted his Legates from purſuing their Journey to *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, ſince it was impoſſible for them to reach thoſe Cities, and they would, by attempting it, not only expoſe their own Lives to imminent Danger, but the Lives of all the Chriſtians in thoſe Parts (U); entreat his Holineſs to procede undaunted in ſo pious and meritorious an Undertaking, that of reſtoring, by a General Council, the Uſe and the Worſhip of Images, notwithſtanding the Abſence of the three Patriarchs, which did not prevent the ſixth Council, and would not prevent the ſeventh from being univerſally received as œcumenical. They conclude with declaring for the Uſe and the Worſhip of Images, as an apoſtolical Tradition, and proteſting, that they receive only ſix General Councils, and condemn that, which was held under *Copronymus* againſt Images, and is by ſome ſtiled the Seventh[t]. The Direction of the Letter was, *To our moſt holy and bleſſed Lord* Taraſius, *Archbiſhop of* Conſtantinople *and Univerſal Patriarch, the High Prieſts and other Prieſts in the Eaſt greeting.* They ſtile themſelves *the High Prieſts, and the other Prieſts in the Eaſt*, perſonating therein the Patriarchs and the Biſhops under their reſpective Juriſdictions. And truly *Baronius*, in exhibiting their Letter, ſtiles it in the Margin, *the Letter of the Patriarchs to* Taraſius[v]; and as ſuch it was received, read and applauded in the Council, tho' it is ſaid in the Letter itſelf, that the Patriarchs neither dared to write, nor to receive Letters, nor even to utter a ſingle Word concerning ſuch Subjects. Year of Chriſt 784.

The Deputies of the Monks brought another Letter with them, ſuppoſed to have been written by *Theodore* of *Jeruſalem* to *Coſmas* of *Alexandria*, and *Theodore* of *Antioch*, on occaſion of his Promotion to the Epiſcopal Dignity. In that Letter *Theodore* in the firſt Place profeſſes to worſhip the Saints and their Images, to adore and embrace their ſaving Reliques, eſpecially the Bones of the Martyrs, *The Letter of the Patriarch of* Jeruſalem *to the Patriarchs of* Alexandria *and* Antioch.

[t] Concil. Nic. 2. act. 3.

[v] Bar. ad ann. 785. p. 383.

(U) *Chriſtianus Lupus*, one would think had never ſeen this Letter, tho' in the Acts of the Council, nor ſo much as heard of it. For he ſuppoſes the Legates of *Taraſius* to have got to the Patriarchs, and the two Monks to have been ſent by the Patriarchs themſelves as their Legates *a latere*, and magnifies the Courage and Zeal of the Legates from *Conſtantinople for venturing through a thouſand Deaths to get to thoſe Patriarchs* (1), when it is ſaid in the Letter itſelf, that it was impoſſible for them to get to them, and that they were diverted by the Monks from attempting it.

(1) Lup. not. in Canon. Concil. Sept. p. 1119.

aſcribes

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aſcribes to them, out of a ſpurious Piece fathered on *Athanaſius*, the Power of working Miracles and curing all ſorts of Diſeaſes, but derives that Power from Chriſt, who, according to him, dwells in thoſe Bones. 2. He acknowleges only ſix General Councils, and anathematizes that, which condemned Images, and by the Enemies of Images is called the ſeventh. 3. He taxes with Ignorance, and condemns as Heretics all, who pretend that Images are not to be worſhipped becauſe the Works of Mens Hands, ſince the Cherubims, the Ark, the Mercy-ſeat, tho' the Works of Mens Hands, were nevertheleſs worſhipped, as he takes it for granted, by the *Iſraelites*[w]. This abſurd Epiſtle is ſaid to have been written by *Theodore* of *Jeruſalem* to *Theodore* of *Antioch* and *Coſmas* of *Alexandria* upon his being promoted to the Patriarchal Dignity, and is therefore ſtiled a *Synodical Epiſtle*, that is, an Epiſtle written by a new Biſhop, and in a full Synod, to his fellow Biſhops. But *Theodore* was raiſed to the Patriarchal See of *Jeruſalem* in 735[x]; and at that Time neither was *Theodore* Patriarch of *Antioch*, nor was *Coſmas* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, the former having been veſted with that Dignity in 752, and the latter in 742[y]. The Letter therefore could not, as is evident, have been written to either of them, but was in all likelihood forged by the Monks, unacquainted with the State of thoſe Churches, to impoſe on the Biſhops of the Council, and perſuade them, that the three Patriarchs (for they pretended to have the Anſwers of the two Patriarchs entirely agreeable to the Letter of *Theodore*) held and profeſſed the Doctrine of Image-worſhip. But ſhould we even allow theſe Letters to be genuine, it would not follow from thence that the ſaid Doctrine was held by the preſent Patriarchs, whoſe Orthodoxy the Monks were ſent to teſtify before the Council, but only that it had been held and profeſſed by ſome of their Predeceſſors. For at this Time *Theodore* of *Jeruſalem*, *Coſmas* of *Alexandria*, and *Theodore* of *Antioch* were all three dead, and their Sees, if not vacant, held by others. I ſay, *if not vacant*; for they are marked by *Theophanes* in his Chronological Tables as vacant at this Time. In the Acts of the Council *Theodore* of *Jeruſalem*, the pretended Writer of the Letter, is ſaid to have died lately[z]; but from Hiſtory it ap-

A mere Forgery.

w Concil. Nic. 2. act. 3. x See Pagi Critic. in Annal. Bar. ad ann. 767.
y Theoph. ad ann. Conſt. 10. & Pagi ad ann. 751. 742. z Concil. Nic. 2. act. 5.

pears,

pears, that he was dead 15 Years before, *Euſebius*, who ſucceeded him, being poſſeſſed of his See in the Year 770[a]. Year of Chriſt 784.

The Biſhops were required in the Summons, that was ſent them, to repair with all Speed to *Conſtantinople*; and the Legates of the Pope as well as the pretended Legates of the three other Patriarchs arriving in that City about the latter End of *July* 786, the Council was appointed to meet for the firſt Time on the 17th of *Auguſt*, and the ſpacious *Baſilic* of the holy Apoſtles was choſen for that Purpoſe. There they met at the Time appointed; and the Patriarch *Taraſius* having, according to Cuſtom, opened the Seſſions with an Harangue, of which I can give no Account, the Decree, forbidding a General Council to meet without the Conſent of the Patriarchs, was ordered to be read. But in the mean Time the Emperor's Guards, who had ſerved under *Conſtantine Copronymus*, and were all, the Officers as well as the private Men, moſt zealous Iconoclaſts, hearing that the Council was met, not to examine, but to condemn the Faith of that Emperor, and with his Faith, his Council and Memory, flew to Arms, ſurrounded the Church, and crying out, that they would not ſuffer the Memory of ſo good and ſo religious a Prince to be thus diſhonoured, nor the Idolatry to be brought back, which he had ſo happily baniſhed, threatened the Patriarch and the other Biſhops with immediate Death, if, deſiſting from ſo wicked a Purpoſe, they did not that Inſtant break up and diſperſe. The Empreſs, who was preſent with the Emperor, alarmed at ſo ſudden a Tumult, which ſhe had neither foreſeen nor in the leaſt apprehended, ſent immediately ſome of the great Officers of the Crown, who attended her, to appeaſe it. But the Soldiery, inſtead of obeying inſulted them as Idolaters, as Enemies to God, to the Church, to the Empire. Hereupon *Irene*, obſerving the Conſternation and Panic of the Biſhops ready to vote, but not at all inclined to die for the Cauſe, and ſatisfied that the Soldiery, now joined by a great Number of Citizens, were not to be reclaimed, gave the Fathers Leave to retire and yield for the preſent; which they did very readily without being hurt, inſulted, or any ways moleſted by their furious and inhuman Enemies, as *Theophanes* is pleaſed to call them[b]. How different from this was the Treatment the Imperial Officers met with, and the Patriarch himſelf from the Worſhippers of Images, even from the Women, when they firſt attempted to pull them down[c]?

The Council meets at Conſtantinople. Year of Chriſt 786.

But obliged by the Soldiery and Citizens to break up.

[a] See Pagi ad ann. 767. [b] Theoph. ad ann. Conſtant. 7. [c] See vol. 3. p. 262.

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Irene *purſues her Deſign.*

The Aſſembly being thus diſſolved, the eaſtern Biſhops returned all to their reſpective Sees. The Pope's Legates too, not thinking themſelves ſafe amidſt the Iconoclaſt Soldiery, were for quitting *Conſtantinople*, and returning with all Haſte to *Rome*. But the Empreſs with much ado perſuaded them, and likewiſe the two Monks, who were to repreſent the eaſtern Patriarchs, to put off their Journey for a While, aſſuring them, that ſhe wanted not the Means of checking the Inſolence of the Soldiery, and bringing the Deſign ſhe had formed jointly with the Patriarch, in ſpite of them, to a happy Iſſue. Accordingly with that View ſhe appointed *Stauratius*, in whom ſhe placed an entire Confidence, Governor of *Thrace*, and at the ſame Time gave him the Command of the oriental Legions quartered in that Province, charging him to render himſelf, by all means, acceptable to them, and having once gained their Affections, to diſmiſs ſuch of the Soldiers and their Officers as he thought might oppoſe her Deſign, and appoint others in their Room, who would promote it, acting therein with great Prudence and Circumſpection. In that Truſt *Stauratius* acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he could, in little more than ſix Months Time, aſſure the Empreſs, that in the whole Corp there was not a ſingle Man, who would not concur with her, and aſſiſt her, to the utmoſt of his Power, in the Execution of her Deſign. Upon this Intelligence the crafty Empreſs immediately gave out, that the *Saracens* had unexpectedly broken into *Aſia*; that they committed there unheard-of Cruelties, and that the Emperor was determined to march againſt them without delay, in Perſon, and head his Army. Orders were accordingly iſſued for all the Troops to put themſelves in Motion; the Emperor's Equipage was conveyed croſs the Straits into *Bithynia*, and the Guards commanded to attend it, as it was their Duty, to the pretended Place of the general Rendezvous, whither they were told the Emperor would follow them with all poſſible Speed. But no ſooner had they left the City than the oriental Legions entered it, on their March, as was ſuppoſed, into *Aſia*. But they were ſtopt there by the Empreſs; and the Guards, upon their landing on the oppoſite Shore, received an Order, ſigned both by the Emperor and the Empreſs, acquainting them that they had no further Occaſion for their Service, and commanding them to deliver up their Arms, and retire, on Pain of being treated as Rebels and Traitors, to their reſpective Homes. As they were quite deſtitute of Money as well as Proviſions, and ſenſible that they could

The Troops that oppoſed the Council diſbanded.

not withſtand the whole Strength of the Empire, which they knew would be employed againſt them, they obeyed, delivered up their Arms, and disbanded: And *Irene*, not ſatisfied with thus getting rid of them, ordered their Wives and Children with all, who were anyways related to, or connected with them, to quit the City forthwith, and retire to the Countries, where they were born[d]. Theſe brave Veterans had ſerved, and with great Reputation, under *Conſtantine Copronymus* as well as his Son *Leo* in all their Wars; and thus were their long and faithful Services in the End rewarded. But they, as true to God as to their Sovereigns, would worſhip God alone, would ſuffer no other Objects of Worſhip to be ſet up in his Room, and were therefore left in their old Age to ſtarve, more worthy of a Place amongſt Martyrs in the Kalendar, than any of the inſolent Monks, who ſuffered for their Diſobedience to the Law of God, and Laws of the Empire. Year of Chriſt 786.

And now *Irene*, truſting in her new Guards, all zealous Friends to Images, and ready to concur with her in all her Meaſures, began to think of aſſembling the Council anew. But apprehending that their meeting in the Metropolis, where the *Iconoclaſt* Party was ſtill very ſtrong, might be attended with freſh Diſturbances, ſhe thought it adviſeable to transfer it to ſome other Place; and the Place, that appeared to her the moſt proper, as well as to the Patriarch, was the City of *Nice* in *Bithynia*. The Image-worſhippers were there by far the ſtronger Party of the two, and ſure to prevail, were any Oppoſition offered, by Blows, if Arguments failed them. Beſides, the Empreſs flattered herſelf, that the very Name of *Nice*, a Name ſo famous in the Annals of the Church, might recommend a Council held there, and in ſome Degree prejudice People, at leaſt the undiſtinguiſhing Multitude, in its Favour. Freſh Orders were therefore iſſued by *Taraſius*, and ſent in the Name of the Emperor and the Empreſs to all Biſhops requiring them to repair to *Nice*, and there purſue the great Work, which they had begun, but the Enemies of Truth had interrupted, at *Conſtantinople*. At the ſame Time Meſſengers were diſpatched after the Legates of the Pope, who not thinking themſelves ſafe at *Conſtantinople*, and ſuffering their Fear to get the better of their Zeal, had left that City to return to *Rome*. The Meſſengers overtook them in *Sicily*; and they, upon hearing that the mutinous Soldiery were disbanded and diſperſed; that others *The Council meets at* Nice. Year of Chriſt 787.

[d] Theoph. ibid. [e] Concil. Nic. 2. act. 2.

Year of Christ 787. were ſubſtituted in their Room, on whoſe Zeal and Protection they might entirely depend, and that the Council was to meet, not at *Conſtantinople*, but at *Nice*, where there was nothing to fear, conſented to return. By the Time they reached *Conſtantinople* the Biſhops had, purſuant to their Summons, all got to *Nice*; and thither *Taraſius*, who had waited for the Legates at *Conſtantinople*, repaired, ſoon after their Arrival, with them, with the great Officers of the Empire, who were to aſſiſt at the Council in the Emperor's Name, and the two Monks, who were to perſonate the three eaſtern Patriarchs, and had been entertained in the Imperial Palace ever ſince the Diſſolution of the Council, and greatly careſſed by the Empreſs.

First Seſſion. All Things being now ready for the opening of the Council, the Fathers met for the firſt Time in the great Church of St. *Sophia* on the 24th of *September* of the preſent Year. At this Aſſembly were preſent, according to ſome, 350 Biſhops, according to others 367, and 377; a Number ſufficient to determine any Truth, were Truth to be determined by Numbers. The Council was opened with a ſhort Speech by *Taraſius*, wherein he exhorted the holy Biſhops, aſſembled in the Lord, not to examine the Points in Diſpute with Care and Attention, and impartially decide them, but to exert themſelves manfully againſt the late Hereſy. Here F. *Pagi*, to prevent us from falling into a great Miſtake, and concluding that *Taraſius* preſided at the Council becauſe he opened it, takes Care to inform us, that in Truth the Pope's Legates preſided, but that as *Taraſius* was a Man of great Addreſs, of conſummate Experience in the Management of Affairs, and far better skilled than they in the *Greek* Tongue, they yielded to him the whole Management and Direction of the Council. Indeed that the Council was entirely managed and directed by *Taraſius* is very certain; and that he preſided at it either alone, or jointly with the Legates of the Pope, and the pretended Legates of the eaſtern Patriarchs is no leſs certain. For the Patriarch *Photius*, in his Book *of the Seven General Councils*, ſays in expreſs Terms, that the Direction and Preſidency of this Council was given to *Taraſius*, to the Pope's Legates, and the Legates of the three other Patriarchs[e]. What *Photius* writes is confirmed by the anonymous Author of the *Liber Synodicus*; for that Writer too names *Taraſius*, the Pope's Legates, and the two Monks, as all preſiding at the Council[f]; and it is to be obſerved, that both theſe Writers name *Taraſius* in the firſt

Who preſided?

[e] Phot. de Sept. Synod. p. 57.

[f] Bibliothec. Jur. Canon. p. 1210.

Place, and consequently as the first or chief President. To the Testimony of these two Writers I shall add the unexceptionable Testimony of *Tarasius* himself, who speaking, in the first Session, of the Tumult, that happened the preceding Year at *Constantinople*, tells the Fathers that it happened when they were already assembled, *while he presided, præsidentibus nobis in venerabili templo*, &c. If he presided at *Constantinople*, it is not to be doubted but that he likewise presided at *Nice*, the Council of *Constantinople* and that of *Nice* being one and the same Council, only transferred from one Place to another. I might add, that he probably presided alone, it being quite improbable that had the Pope's Legates, and the two Monks shared that Honour with him, he would, by not mentioning them, have assumed it all to himself (W). Year of Christ 787.

When *Tarasius* had ended his Speech, the Imperial Commissioners *Petronius*, *John*, and *Nicephorus*, who had succeded *Tarasius* in the Employment of first Secretary, and afterwards succeded him in the Patriarchal Dignity, produced a Letter from *Constantine* and *Irene* to the Council, and desired it might be read; which was done accordingly. In that Letter they declared that they had assembled the present Council with the Approbation and Consent of all the Patriarchs, whereas of the five Patriarchs three knew nothing of it, as has been shown above[g]; that the Resignation of the late Patriarch, and his death-bed Repentance because he had received the Council, that condemned Images[h], having made a deep Impression on their Minds, they had thereupon resolved to recall the banished Faith, and with that View raised *Tarasius* to the Patriarchal Dignity, who had suggested to them the assembling of a General Council, as the most effectual Means of obtaining so desirable an End; that they had accordingly assembled a General Council from all Parts of the Globe *a toto terrarum orbe* (X); that it was incumbent upon them, now *The Emperor's Letter read.*

[g] See above, p. 85. [h] See above, p. 72.

(W) *Du Pin* in his Account of this Council says in one Place, that the Legates of the Pope were placed the first, and *Tarasius* next to them; and in another, that the Legates of *Hadrian* did not think it adviseable that certain Articles of his Holiness's Letter should be read in a Council, at which *Tarasius presided* (1).

(X) At this Council *assembled from all Parts of the Globe* not one Person assisted, besides the Legates of the Pope, from *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, *Spain*, *Britain*, or *Africa*; nay not one, except the two Monks and the Pope's Legates, who was not a Subject of the Empire; and the Empire was confined, at this Time, within very narrow Bounds, and but a very small Portion of the Globe.

(1) Du Pin Biblioth. Eccles. t. 6. p. 138, 139.

they

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they were assembled, to cut off all Errors and Novelties in the Practice and Faith of the Church, as the Prince of the Apostles cut off the Ear of the perfidious *Jew*; to root out and condemn to Hell-fire every Tree bearing Fruit of Contention, and thus put an End to the unhappy Disputes, that had so long rent into Parties and Factions both the Church and the Empire[i]. The Letter was received by the whole Assembly with loud Acclamations, with repeated Wishes of long Life and Prosperity to their most religious Sovereigns, who deserved so well of the orthodox Faith, of the Catholic Church, of all true Christians.

Some Bishops abjure their former Doctrine.

In the next Place several Bishops, *viz. Basilius* of *Ancyra*, *Theodorus* of *Myra*, *Theodosius* of *Ammorium*, and others, who had condemned Images, or received the Council, that condemned them, presented themselves to the Fathers, begging they might be allowed to abjure that *Heresy* and take their Place in the Council. For in this mock Council none were allowed to sit, who had ever condemned Images, till they had solemnly abjured that Opinion as a Heresy: Which was declaring it Heresy not to worship Images, when they had not yet examined whether it was Heresy or not, nor heard a single Argument or Reason for or against that Opinion. The Fathers readily complied with the Request of the penitent Bishops; and *Basilius* of *Ancyra* abjured his Opinion the first in the following Words: *I admit the Intercession of our immaculate Lady the Mother of God, of the holy Angels, of all Saints, and beg them to intercede for me; I receive with all Honour, salute, and honourably honour,* honorabiliter honoro, *their holy and precious Reliques, believing I shall thus partake of their Holiness. I likewise salute, honour, and embrace the venerable Images of our Saviour, of the Virgin* Mary, *of the Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs, and of all the Saints. I condemn, abhor, and most sincerely renounce the false, wicked and abominable Synod, that condemned Images, and caused them to be taken down and cast out of the Churches. I most sincerely anathematize all, who break Images; who apply to the venerable Images what is said in Scripture against Idols; who call them Idols, or say that we approach them as Gods, who reject the Doctrine of the Fathers, and the Tradition of the Church, saying with* Arius, Nestorius, Eutyches *and* Dioscorus, *that they receive no Doctrine but what they find in the Old or New Testament. Ba-*

[i] Concil. Nic. 2. act. 1.

silius

silius ended his Retractation, and his anathemas with one against himself, if he ever willingly or unwillingly renounced or impugned the Doctrine, which he now professed [k]. The Retractation of *Theodorus* of *Myra* and *Theodosius* of *Ammorium* differed but very little from that of *Basilius*; only *Theodosius* declared that he received, embraced, and *adored* the holy and *adorable* Images; that he received, embraced and *adored* the Reliques of Saints, and anathematized all, who did not teach and inculcate the Doctrine of Image-worship. The Retractation of these three Bishops was received with great Applause by the Fathers, and as it was by all judged sincere, they were allowed to sit with the rest in the Council. Seven Bishops more presented themselves in order to recant, and be thereupon admitted into the Council. But as they had distinguished themselves by their Zeal against Images, and were supposed to have been the Authors of the Disturbances, that obliged the Council to break up the preceding Year at *Constantinople*, the Fathers were divided in their Opinions with respect to them, some being for degrading them, others for receiving them by a new Imposition of Hands, and some for admitting them into the Council, without any other Ceremony, upon their owning themselves Heretics, and renouncing their former wicked Sentiments with respect to Images as a Heresy: And this Opinion prevailed in the End; but their Abjuration and Reception were put off to the next Session. Thus by this very numerous, very wise, very holy, very learned Council, as *Baronius*, *Maimburg*, *Natalis* stile it, was it declared a wicked Heresy, and abjured as a wicked Heresy, not to worship Images, when they had not yet examined, nor begun to examine whether it was a Heresy, or not. But *Irene* was bent upon having the holy Images restored; *Tarasius*, tho' a Layman, had been raised by her to the Patriarchal Dignity, because a zealous Friend to the holy Images; the Pope, offended at the uncanonical Election and Ordination of a Layman, had declared, that he approved of his Election only upon Condition that he got the holy Images restored; so that the holy Images were to be restored at all Events: And the most effectual Means of obtaining that End was to declare at once all Enemies to Images Heretics, and by excluding them from the Council till they had abjured their wicked Heresy, prevent all dangerous Inquiries, Debates, and Opposition.

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And are allowed to sit in the Council.

[k] Consil. Nic. ibid.

In

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Second Session.

Gregory *of* Neocæsarea *recants.*

In the second Session, held two Days after the first, that is, on the 26th of *September*, *Gregory*, Bishop of *Neocæsarea* was introduced by the Imperial Commissioners in order to abjure his Heresy, and take his Place in the Council. He made his Abjuration accordingly, protesting, that he received, honoured and adored the venerable Images, and unfeignedly repented as a most wicked Action his having ever opposed them. However as he had been of all the Iconoclasts the most active in pulling them down and breaking them, and besides was said to have cruelly persecuted all under his Jurisdiction, who favoured, or were suspected to favour that Cause, his Reception was put off till his Case should be further considered, and he ordered to present, in the next Session, a Confession of his Faith written and signed by himself. *Gregory* being dismissed, *Hadrian*'s Letter in Answer to the Emperor's was read, approved and received with all the Misinterpretations of Scripture, all the false or impertinent Allegations from the Fathers, and the legendary Tales it contained[l]. His Letter to *Tarasius* was likewise read and approved. And thus ended the second Session.

Hadrian's *Letter read.*

Third Session.

Gregory *admitted to the Council.*

The Council met again on the 29th of *September*, when *Gregory* of *Neocæsarea*, having presented a Confession of his new Faith, was, after repeated Submissions and Protestations, confirmed in his Dignity, and allowed, with the seven Bishops mentioned above, all, no doubt, sincere Converts to the Worship of Images, to take his Place in the Council. In the next Place was read the Letter of *Tarasius* to the eastern Patriarchs[m], the Answer of the Monks of *Palestine* to that Letter, which passed in the Council for the Answer of the Patriarchs themselves[n], and the supposed Letter of *Theodore* of *Jerusalem* to the two Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*[o]. These Letters were approved by all, and received as containing the true Catholic, Orthodox, and Apostolic Faith; and Anathemas were thereupon thundered by the Pope's Legates, in the Name of the 318 Bishops, who had formerly met in the same Place, that is, in the Name of the 318 Bishops of the first Council of *Nice*, against all, who did not profess the same Doctrine, and did not agree with the most holy Pope *Hadrian*, with the holy Patriarch of *New Rome*, and the other holy Patriarchs in the Adoration of Images. The Anathemas, thundered by the Legates, were approved and confirmed

The Letter of Tarasius *to the eastern Patriarchs, and theirs to him read.*

[l] See above, p. 79.
[m] See above, p. 78.
[n] See above, p. 86.
[o] See above, p. 87.

with

with loud and repeated Acclamations by all, who were preſent, and Thanks returned to the Almighty for thus uniting the Eaſt and the Weſt, the South and the North in one Council and one Faith, when the eaſtern Patriarchs knew nothing of the Council, as has been ſhewn[p], and the weſtern Biſhops condemned it as ſoon as they heard of it, as will be ſhown hereafter. Year of Chriſt 787.

And now that the good Fathers had obliged ſeveral Biſhops, who had oppoſed the Worſhip of Images as unlawful, to abjure that Opinion as a wicked Hereſy, and had anathematized all, who held it, as Heretics, it was high Time for them to examine whether it was a Hereſy or not, ſince they pretended to have met for that Purpoſe, or, at leaſt, to prove that it was. And this they attempted in the two following Seſſions, but with what Succeſs I ſhall leave the Reader to judge. As the Iconoclaſts urged the Scripture and the divine Prohibition *thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven Images*, &c. againſt the Uſe as well as the Worſhip of Images, in the fourth Seſſion, held on the firſt of *October*, *Taraſius* undertook to prove from Scripture the Lawfulneſs of the one and the other. But the only Paſſages he alleged were thoſe, in which mention is made of the Cherubims ſhadowing the Mercy-ſeat[q]; and from them he argued, if Cherubims, *ſhadowing the Mercy-ſeat*, were allowed under the Law, may not we have the Images of Chriſt, of his holy Mother, of the Saints and the Martyrs ſhadowing our Altars under the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel? This ſtale Argument, if it deſerves the Name of an Argument, had been a thouſand Times anſwered by the Iconoclaſts: They had ſhown, as often as it was urged againſt them, a wide Difference between the Cherubims and the Images they oppoſed, *viz.* that the Cherubims were made by God's expreſs Command, which could be ſaid of no Images of our Saviour or the Saints; that the Cherubims were not worſhipped, and therefore could not be alleged to authorize the worſhipping of Images; that they were not even ſeen by the People, but kept concealed from their Sight in the Holy of Holies, and therefore could not ſo much as authorize the Uſe of Images in the Places of Worſhip, the Holy of Holies, where they were kept, being no Place of Worſhip, ſince none were allowed to worſhip there, nay nor to look into the Place[r]. *John*, the pretended Vicar of the eaſtern Patriarchs, added, that *Jacob* ſet up a Pillar, and that he *Fourth Seſſion. Proofs alleged from Scripture by* Taraſius *in Favour of Images.*

[p] See above, p. 85.
[q] Num. c. 7. ver. 8, 9. Exod. c. 25. ver. 17, 18. Ezek. c. 41. ver. 18, 19. Heb. c. 9. ver. 5.
[r] Vol. 3. p. 276. note F.

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And by the pretended Vicar of the eaſtern Patriarchs.

wreſtled with an Angel in the Form of a Man, concluding from thence that Chriſtians may ſet up Images, as if there were no Difference between a Pillar and an Image, and may likewiſe paint Angels in the Form of Men; which was altogether foreign to the Purpoſe, the Iconoclaſts not thinking it unlawful to paint Angels and Saints, but only to worſhip either them or their Pictures. The ſame Monk obſerved that the Agreement between *Hadrian* and *Taraſius*, between the *Roman* Church and the Empreſs *Irene* in the preſent Diſpute about Images, had been foreſeen by King *David*, and foretold in the following Words, *Mercy and Truth*, that is *Hadrian* and *Taraſius*, *are met together*, *Righteouſneſs and Peace*, that is, the *Roman* Church and *Irene*, whoſe Name in *Greek* imports Peace, *have kiſſed each others*. The other Texts they allege from Scripture are no leſs foreign than theſe, that is altogether foreign, to their Purpoſe, *viz.* Nathan *bowed himſelf to the King with his Face to the Ground*[t]. Abraham *bowed himſelf to the People of the Land, even to the Children of* Heth[u]; *ſhew me thy Face*[w], *thy Face will I ſeek*[x]. From the two firſt Paſſages they argue; if it is lawful to bow to Men, it cannot be unlawful to bow to Images, to the holy and venerable Images of our Saviour, of his bleſſed Mother, *&c.*; that is in other Words, if we may lawfully bow down to Men to honour them, we may lawfully bow down to Images to worſhip them; which is arguing from civil Honour to religious Worſhip; from the civil Honour we give, and are no-where forbidden in Scripture to give to Men, to the religious Worſhip, which in many Places of Scripture we are expreſly forbidden to give to Images. Had *Nathan* bowed to *David* to worſhip him, or *Abraham* to the Children of *Heth* to worſhip them, both had been guilty of Idolatry. As bowing is lawful when only a Mark of civil Honour, Reſpect or Eſteem; ſo is kiſſing when only a Mark of Friendſhip and Kindneſs; and as the one is unlawful when an Act of religious Worſhip, ſo is the other: Of this Diſtinction, however obvious, the learned Fathers of the Council were not aware, elſe they had not concluded from its being lawful for Parents to kiſs their Children and the Images of their Children, and for Children to kiſs their Parents and the Images of their Parents, that it was, in like manner, lawful for Chriſtians to kiſs the Images of their Saviour and his Mother. This Argument

Paſſages of Scripture ſtrangely miſinterpreted.

[s] Pſal. 85. ver. 20. [t] 1 Kings c. 1. ver. 23. [u] Gen. c. 23. ver. 7.
[w] Canticl. [x] Pſal. 27. ver. 8.

they frequently urge in the preſent and following Seſſions; and *Leontius*, one of the Biſhops of the Council, thought it of ſuch Force that ſtarting up when he firſt heard it, *now tell me*, ſaid he inſulting the Iconoclaſts and improving the Argument, *tell me, thou, who thinkeſt nothing, that is made with Hands, nothing that is created, is to be adored; ſhalt thou kiſs thy wicked Wife, and may not I kiſs the Image of the bleſſed Virgin?* The Iconoclaſt, whom he thus addreſſes, did not, I ſuppoſe, worſhip his Wife when he kiſſed her, nor kiſs her by way of Worſhip. But to kiſs an Image is to worſhip it according to this very Council, kiſſing being reckoned by them, as well as bowing, amongſt the Acts of Worſhip due to Images. As to the other two Texts of Scripture quoted above, by the Word *Face* in thoſe Texts, and where-ever elſe it occurs in Scripture, the Council moſt impertinently underſtands the Image of Chriſt; ſo that according to them *ſhow me thy Face* is as much as to ſay ſhow me thy Image; *thy Face will I ſeek*, thy Image will I ſeek; *the Rich ſhall entreat thy Face*, or *pray before thy Face*, the Rich ſhall entreat thy Image, or pray before thy Image. And theſe are the only Paſſages 350 Biſhops could find in Holy Writ to ſatisfy the World, that it is not only lawful to uſe Images, but to bow down to them, and worſhip them, notwithſtanding the divine Prohibition, *thou ſhalt not bow down to them, nor worſhip them.* Year of Chriſt 787.

Their obliging, in the very Beginning of the firſt Seſſion, *Baſilius* of *Ancyra* to anathematize all, who ſhould ſay they received no Doctrine but what was taught in the Old or New Teſtament, plainly ſhows that they were themſelves ſenſible the Doctrine, which they wanted to define, was taught in neither, and that it was not ſo much to prove their Doctrine from Scripture that they alleged the few Paſſages quoted above, as that they might not be thought to own, as they would had they produced none, that it could not be proved from Scripture. When Arguments from Scripture were urged againſt them by their Adverſaries, their common Anſwer was, that all Heretics and Patrons of Hereſy have ever founded their Hereſy on the holy Scriptures, alleging ſuch Paſſages from thence as are capable of ſtaggering or miſleading the Unwary and the Ignorant. But we muſt except the Patrons of Image-worſhip, and do them the Juſtice of clearing them from that Imputation, not one Paſſage being alleged by them capable of miſleading, or ſtaggering in the leaſt even the moſt ignorant.

They themſelves ſenſible that their Doctrine was not to be proved from Scripture.

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Testimonies from the Fathers.

The Scripture being ſoon laid aſide, the voluminous Works of the Fathers were brought in; and of Teſtimonies from them the good Biſhops were as prodigal as they had been ſparing of Teſtimonies from Scripture. To examine them all would be an uſeleſs as well as a troubleſome Task; and therefore I ſhall only obſerve here, 1. That not one Father or Chriſtian Writer of the three firſt Centuries was quoted by the Council to witneſs their apoſtolical Tradition, or a Tradition, that came, as they boaſted, from the preaching of the Apoſtles. *Chryſoſtom*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Athanaſius*, *Aſterius* and *Baſil* flouriſhed in the fourth Century; *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, *Antipater* of *Boſtra* and *Nilus* the Monk in the fifth; *Leontius* the Monk, *Joannes Jejunator* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and *Simeon Stylites* in the ſixth; *Sophronius* of *Jeruſalem*, *Anaſtaſius* the Monk, *Anaſtaſius* Patriarch of *Antioch*, and *Leontius Cyprius* in the ſeventh; *Germanus* of *Conſtantinople*, *Damaſcene*, the two Popes *Gregory* II. and III. in the eighth. And theſe, tho' the earlieſt among them lived near 300 Years after the Apoſtles, are the only Evidences they brought in to witneſs their apoſtolical Tradition, or a Tradition, that had obtained in the Church ever ſince the Times of the Apoſtles. Their not quoting any of the Fathers of the three firſt Centuries is a plain Proof, they could find nothing in them that ſeemed in the leaſt to favour their Opinion, or could be ſo miſinterpreted as to favour it; and they had, as was obſerved by the Author of the *Caroline* Books, a particular Talent at miſinterpreting, mangling and corrupting Authors to make them ſay what they thought they ſhould have ſaid. As they could therefore find nothing in the Writings of the Apoſtles, of their immediate Succeſſors, or of thoſe, who ſucceded them for the firſt 300 Years of the Chriſtian Religion, that favoured in the leaſt the Doctrine of Image-worſhip, they would have argued very abſurdly in concluding that Doctrine to have been taught by the Apoſtles, even tho' the Fathers of the 4th and the following Centuries, that is, the Fathers, whom they quote, had all taught it to a Man.

No Fathers quoted of the three firſt Centuries.

But that none of them taught it, excepting thoſe of the 8th Century, when that Superſtition firſt began to obtain; that in the very Paſſages quoted out of the Fathers there is not ſo much as a diſtant Hint of any Worſhip given to Images by thoſe Fathers or by any in their Time, will undeniably appear to every Reader, who can prevail upon himſelf to peruſe the tedious Acts of this Council. All they

ſay is, that Pictures are pious Repreſentations; that they were pleaſed and affected with the Sight of them; that they wept in beholding the Picture of Chriſt's Paſſion; that the Painters, who drew ſuch Pieces, were piouſly employed; that they repreſent to us the Battles of the Martyrs, put us in mind of them, and ſtir us up to tread in their Footſteps; that the Walls of Churches ſhould rather be painted with Hiſtories of the Old and New Teſtament than with Horſes, Dogs, and Hares; that all Creatures have a natural Reverence for Man becauſe he is the Image of God. No Proteſtant, however zealous for the Purity of the Chriſtian Worſhip, could, I believe, ſcruple to ſubſcribe theſe Propoſitions; and yet the Fathers of the Council, putting, as they frequently do, more in the Conſequence than was in the Premiſes, conclude from them that Images are to be worſhipped. *Gregory Nazianzen*, it is true, ſpeaking of an Image beſtowed on it, as the Council obſerves, the Epithet of venerable. But unluckily the Image, on which he beſtowed that Epithet, was not the Image of our Saviour, of the Virgin *Mary*, of any Martyr or Saint, but of *Polemon* a Pagan; whence it evidently follows, that by the Word *venerable Gregory* either did not mean *worthy of Veneration and Worſhip*, or if he did, that he thought the Image of a Pagan worthy of Veneration and Worſhip.

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Paſſages from the Fathers of the ſubſequent Centuries only prove the Uſe of Images lawful.

But *Maximus*, ſay they, in the Account he gives of an Agreement between him and *Theodoſius*, tells us that the Book of the Goſpels, the Croſs, and the Images of our Saviour, and his Mother being brought in, they both laid their Hands on them, and kiſſed them to confirm the Agreement they had made: And *whatever we kiſs, that we adore.* But *Maximus* lived in the 7th Century, in 660 according to *Bellarmine*[y], and therefore is no good Evidence for a Tradition pretended to be derived from the Apoſtles. Beſides, *kiſſing* and *adoring* are with all, but the Biſhops of this Council, two very different Things; and thoſe, who utterly deny that any Adoration is due to the Goſpels, yet when they take a ſolemn Oath kiſs without Scruple the Book. The Paſſage they quote from *Leontius* of *Cyprus* is the moſt favourable of all to their Cauſe. But he too lived as late as the 7th Century[z], is an obſcure Author, and ſome think that the Work, they quote and aſcribe to him, was never heard of before the Time of this Council. To conclude, all that can be gathered from the Paſſages of the Fathers quoted in the Council is, that Images

To kiſs and adore different Things.

[y] Bellar. de Script. Eccleſ. p. 113. [z] Idem ibid. p. 111.

were

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were uſed in the 4th and the following Centuries, and that in the Opinion of thoſe Fathers ſome Advantages attended the Uſe of them. This is evidently the moſt that can be gathered from the Paſſages they quoted: And yet *Taraſius* and the Legates of the Pope ſatisfied, or pretending to be ſatisfied, it had been made undeniably to appear from the Writings of the Fathers, that not only the Uſe but the Worſhip of Images had obtained in the Catholic Church ever ſince the Times of the Apoſtles, Anathemas were thundered by the whole Aſſembly againſt all, who ſhould ſay that to worſhip Images was an Innovation, or was not grounded on an uninterrupted Tradition (tho' they had not quoted a ſingle Father of the three firſt Centuries) from the earlieſt Ages of the Chriſtian Religion to the preſent.

No Proof from the Councils for the Worſhip of Images.

When they had done with the Fathers the Councils were brought in, which they boaſted were all on their Side, but nevertheleſs contented themſelves with only alleging the 82d Canon of the *Quiniſext* Council, allowing Chriſt, who to the Time of that Council had been painted in the Figure of a Lamb, to be thenceforth repreſented in the Form of a Man. But the *Quiniſext* Council was held in the latter End of the 7th Century, in 691, and conſequently too late to evidence an apoſtolical Tradition. Beſides, by that Canon Chriſt was allowed to be repreſented in his Humanity, but no kind of Worſhip was there allowed to be given, or ſaid to be due to that Repreſentation; nay, the very Canon they quote ſhows, that ſo late as the End of the 7th Century even the repreſenting of Chriſt in his Humanity, or in the Form of a Man, was a new Thing, or what had never before been allowed. As for the preceding Councils, it was owned by Pope *Gregory* II. that there was nothing more in them of Images than of eating and drinking[a], and by the great Patron of Images *Germanus* of *Conſtantinople*, that the worſhipping them was a Point, which the preceding Councils had all left undiſcuſſed and undetermined: And truly of Images not the leaſt mention is made in any of the General Councils, except the *Quiniſext*, nor indeed in any other whatever, except that of *Eliberis*, which condemned even the Uſe of Images in all Places of Worſhip[b]. But the Worſhip of Images, ſay the learned Prelates, was not forbidden in any of thoſe Councils. Neither was the Worſhip of the Pagan Deities, or even of the Devil, forbidden in any of thoſe Councils; and are we to conclude from thence, that they approved of our worſhipping

[a] See vol. 3. p. 284. [b] See vol. 3. p. 225.

them?

them? The Reaſon, why none of them forbad the Worſhip of Images is obvious; Images had not begun to be worſhipped in the Time even of the lateſt of thoſe Councils, as has been demonſtrated elſewhere[c]; and they could not forbid what was not yet practiſed. A Hereſy muſt be broached before it can be condemned, and a Practice introduced before it can be forbidden. Year of Chriſt 787.

In the laſt Place were brought in *the Lives of the Saints*, with Heaps of Monkiſh Legends to corroborate the Teſtimonies alleged from the Scripture, the Fathers, and the Councils; and out of thoſe fabulous Pieces were read Miracles without Number ſaid to have been wrought by Images. The Story of our Saviour's Image crucified at *Berytus* by the *Jews* was believed by the good Fathers, and when it was read drew Tears from the Eyes of the whole Aſſembly. Of this ridiculous Tale I have ſpoken elſewhere[d], but cannot help taking Notice here of the ſurpriſing Ignorance or Stupidity of theſe good Fathers. On the one Hand they ſuppoſe the Miracle wrought by that Image, *viz.* the Converſion of the *Jews* upon their ſeeing Blood iſſue from it, to have been wrought at this Time, or not long before the Council, and call it *a new Miracle, a Miracle wrought juſt now*[e]. On the other Hand they will have it to have been related, by St. *Athanaſius*, who died 300 Years before the Council, and father upon him the Piece, out of which it was read. The Image of our Saviour, ſuppoſed to have been ſent by our Saviour himſelf to *Abgarus* King of *Edeſſa*[f], was not forgotten on this Occaſion: And the miraculous Deliverance of that City by means of ſuch a *Palladium*, when *Choſroes* beſieged it, was read as it is related by *Evagrius*[g], and applauded by the whole Aſſembly as an unqueſtionable Truth, tho' of the ſuppoſed miraculous Deliverance not the leaſt mention is made by *Procopius*, who lived in thoſe Days, and has related all the remarkable Events of that War, nor by any other Writer whatever. The Image indeed was extant in the Time of the Council; for *Leo*, Reader of the Church of *Conſtantinople*, aſſured the Fathers that he had been at *Edeſſa*, and had ſeen it there *honoured and worſhipped by the Faithful*. But it was not extant in the Time of *Euſebius*, who was at *Edeſſa* 300 Years before, and there ſaw the pretended Letters from *Abgarus* to our Saviour, and from our Saviour.

Fabulous Legends quoted and incredible Stories.

The Images of Berytus *and* Edeſſa.

[c] See vol. 3. p. 202, & ſeq. [d] See vol. 3. p. 204. note B. [e] Con. Nic. Seſſ. 4. p. 231. [f] See vol. 3. p. 203. note A. [g] Evagr. l. 4. c. 27.

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viour to *Abgarus*[h]; but not the Image, else he would have mentioned the Image as well as the Letters; nay it is evident from his thinking it unlawful to paint Christ, as we have shown he did[i], that he either never had heard of that Image, or that he looked upon all, that was said of it, as a mere Fable. I should quite tire the Reader were I to relate the many absurd, childish, and ridiculous Tales, the many Dreams of old Monks, and old Womens Stories, that were read out of obscure and fabulous Writers, or gravely told by some of the Bishops of this venerable Assembly to convince the Iconoclasts, that Images had ever been worshipped in the Catholic Church, and that God had, by stupendous Miracles, approved of that Worship. To some of them however I must allow a Place here, that from them the Reader may judge of the rest, as well as of the Sense, Wisdom, Penetration and Learning of those, who not only were not ashamed to relate such idle and incredible Stories, or hear them related in such an Assembly, but grounded chiefly upon them a Definition of Faith.

The Story of a Monk haunted with the Spirit of Fornication.

Out of the *Pratum Spirituale*, a Book only fit for the Entertainment of Children, was read the following Story. An old Monk, who had been haunted with the Spirit of Fornication ever since his Youth, finding the unclean Spirit continued to assault him, without Intermission, even in his old Age, began to lament his hard Fate, and addressing the Devil, *how long*, said he, *wilt thou plague and torment me? Depart from me now; thou hast been with me even to old Age.* Hereupon the Devil appearing to him said, *swear to me that thou wilt tell no Man what I shall say to thee, and I will assault thee no more.* The Monk swore as the Devil directed him, and thereupon the Devil, satisfied he should compass his End, the Damnation of the old Monk, more effectually by diverting him from the Worship of Images, than by tempting him to Uncleanness, said to him, *worship no more this Image*, the Image of the Virgin *Mary* with her Son in her Arms, *and I will tempt thee no more.* The Monk desired Time to consider of it, and discovered the next Day to the Abbot *Theodore*, notwithstanding the Oath he had taken, all that had passed between him and the Devil. The Abbot commended him for breaking his Oath, and at the same Time assured him, that *he had better go into all the Stews in the City than forbear wor-*

[h] See vol. 3. ubi supra.

[i] See vol. 3. p. 231. note F.

shipping

ſhipping Chriſt and his Mother in their Images (Z); that is, if he could not redeem himſelf from the Temptation by any other Means but by either renouncing the Worſhip of an Image, or ſatisfying his Luſt with all the Harlots in Town, he ought to let looſe the Reins to his Luſt. The Anſwer of the Abbot, that would have raiſed the Indignation of any other Chriſtian Aſſembly, and would have been rejected with the utmoſt Abhorrence as uttered by the Devil of Fornication himſelf in the Diſguiſe of an Abbot, was received by the Council, by a Council of 350 or 370 Biſhops with general Applauſe; nay, the Aſſembly was ſo well pleaſed with the whole Story, that they ordered it to be read again in the following Seſſion. Year of Chriſt 787.

Out of the ſame Book were read two other Tales, and both approved and applauded by the Council. *John* the Anchoret, a very great Man, as he is called, lived in a Cave at *Sochas* in *Paleſtine*, where he had an Image of the Virgin *Mary* with Chriſt in her Arms. Before that Image the holy Anchoret kept a Candle conſtantly burning; and when his Devotion prompted him, as it frequently did, to undertake a Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, to Mount *Sinai*, or to any other more diſtant Sanctuary, he uſed to commit the Care of his Candle to the Virgin *Mary*, charging her not to let it go out, leſt ſhe and her Son ſhould be left in the dark. The Virgin acquitted herſelf of her Truſt with great Fidelity; for tho' the holy Man was abſent ſometimes two, ſometimes four, and ſometimes ſix Months, he found the Candle burning, and not waſted in the leaſt, at his Return. The other Story was of a Woman, who having dug a deep Pit to find Water, and finding none, was ordered in her Sleep to lay the Image of the Abbot *Theodoſius* at the Bottom of the Pit; which ſhe did, and the Pit immediately filled with moſt excellent Water. Of this Miracle the Fathers thought no Man could doubt but a *Mahometan* or a *Jew*, ſince the Perſon, who relates it, ſaw the Well, and drank of the Water. The true Criterion, or Mark of Diſtinction between true and falſe Miracles is, according to St. *Irenæus* [k], that true Miracles are done for the Benefit of Mankind. And what mighty Benefit was it to Mankind that a Pit ſhould be filled with Water for the

Other Tales no leſs abſurd and ridiculous.

[k] Iren. adverſ. hæreſ. 11. 56.

(Z) *Expedit autem tibi potius ut non dimittas in civitate iſta Lupanar, in quod non introeas quam ut recuſes adorare Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum cum propria matre in ſua imagine*, were the Words of the Abbot (1).

(1) Concil. Nic. 2. p. 269.

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Convenience of a silly Woman, or that a Candle should be kept constantly burning to light no body?

One of the Bishops of the Council miraculously cured by an Image.

When these and many other no less absurd, ridiculous and incredible Stories were read out of the different Legends the Bishops had called for, a Monk, named *Stephen*, acquainted the Council that he could produce 15 Volumes more, all upon Images, and all filled with Miracles wrought by Images to confound the Iconoclasts, and confirm the Catholic Doctrine. But *Tarasius*, perceiving the Fathers grew tired, and well they might, answered the Monk, that the Catholic Doctrine wanted no further Confirmation. However *Manzus*, one of the Bishops of the Council, rising up begged Leave to add to the many Miracles wrought by Images in others one wrought in himself, and told them, that he was cured of a very dangerous Disease by laying an Image of our Saviour on the Part affected. And yet *Tarasius* had owned in this very Session, that no Miracles were wrought by Images in their Days, because Miracles were Signs for Unbelievers, and not for Believers. This Session ended with a solemn Declaration made by the whole Council, that they honoured, worshipped and adored the holy and venerable Images. Let no Man be offended, said *Tarasius*, at the Word *Adoration* or *Worship*, or urge against it the Command quoted by our Saviour, *thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve:* For in that Command the Word *only* is applied to Service and not to Worship; and therefore tho' we may not serve Images, yet we may worship them. Had the Devil understood the Scripture as well as *Tarasius* he might have answered our Saviour, by the Command, *thou shalt worship*, &c. you are not required to worship but to serve God only, and therefore may, without transgressing it, fall down and worship me. The Distinction between Service and Worship was received by the Council with an uncommon and general Applause, the Bishops all crying out aloud, *we worship Images, but do not serve them, we may worship Images tho' we may not serve them,* as if they never had heard of the divine Prohibition, *thou shalt not make to thyself any graven Image; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.* They closed the Session with a Peal of Anathemas against all in general, who did not salute, honour, worship and adore the holy and venerable Images, and against the Emperor *Leo* in particular, his Son *Copronymus*, and the impious Assembly of judaizing Bishops convened by

by the latter for the Deſtruction of Images, and the Exaltation of the Kingdom of *Satan*. Year of Chriſt 787.

The fifth Seſſion, held on the 4th of *October*, was opened by *Taraſius* with a Declamation, or rather Invective, wherein the Iconoclaſts were compared to the *Jews*, *Samaritans*, *Pagans*, *Mahometans*, *Manichees*, &c. when he had done, they were declared by the whole Aſſembly worſe than *Jews*, *Samaritans*, or *Mahometans*, becauſe they deſtroyed Images ignorantly being Strangers to Chriſtianity; whereas the Iconoclaſts *knew the Will of their Lord*. Here they ſhould have ſhewn where the Will of their Lord, that Images ſhould be ſet up, and ſhould be worſhipped, was revealed to them. In the Old Teſtament to ſet up Images, or worſhip them, is expreſly forbidden, and that Prohibition is no-where revoked in the New Teſtament. The Iconoclaſts therefore thought, and had Reaſon to think ſo, that it was the Will of their Lord they ſhould deſtroy them, at leaſt when they began to be worſhipped, as good King *Hezekiah* was commended in Scripture for deſtroying the brazen Serpent, tho' made by God's own Command, when it began to be worſhipped [1]. *Fifth Seſſion. Iconoclaſts declared worſe than* Jews, Mahometans, *&c.*

In the next Place was read a Sermon of *John* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, containing an Account of a Conference between a Pagan and a Saint, that is a Worſhipper of Images. The Pagan is there introduced ſpeaking thus: Do not you Chriſtians paint, in your Churches, the Images of your Saints, nay of your God, and worſhip them? And why may not we too paint the Images of our Gods and worſhip them? We do not take our Images to be Gods, nor do we worſhip them as Gods, but in them and by them we worſhip the incorporeal Powers, whom they repreſent. The Saint anſwers, We Chriſtians make Images of holy Men, who had real Bodies; we paint our God in the Form of a Man, the Form in which he appeared amongſt us; but you make corporeal Images of incorporeal Beings. And ſo do you, replies the Pagan, for you paint Angels, who are intellectual and incorporeal Beings. You Pagans indeed, anſwers the Saint, teach that Angels are, as well as our Souls, incorporeal and inviſible: But the Catholic Church teaches us, that they have Bodies, ſubtil Bodies of Air and Fire, according to that, *he makes his Miniſters a Flame of Fire*. They are indeed ſaid to be incorporeal, but only comparatively, becauſe they have not ſuch groſs Bodies as we have. *Conference between a Pagan and a Saint read in the Council.*

[1] 2 Kings c. 18. ver. 3, 4.

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Thus the Saint; and his Answers were all approved by the Council as containing the true Doctrine of the Catholic Church. Indeed we need not wonder at their fathering on the Church the Doctrine of Image-worship, when we find them so little acquainted with the Doctrine of the Church as to father upon her that of the Materiality of Souls and of Angels.

And a Dispute between a Christian and a Jew.

In the same Session was read a Dispute between a Christian and a *Jew*, in which the *Jew* is introduced upbraiding the Christian with a Breach of the Commandment expresly forbidding us to bow down to Images, or to worship them. The Christian answers, "The "Images you see are made to put us in mind of the Benefits of "Christ; the Images of the Saints represent to us their Combats "and Victories. We do not worship them as Gods, but pray God "to save us by their Intercession. We do not worship or adore a "wooden Image or a Picture, but we glorify our Lord *Jesus* Christ. "O *Jew*, even *Moses* made two Cherubims, and a brazen Serpent." When, or by whom this Piece was written we know not; but what was quoted out of it makes rather against the Council than for it, since the Christian there confines the Use of Images to their putting us in mind of the Benefits of Christ, and their representing to us the Combats of the Martyrs, and expresly declares that he does not worship them. *We do not worship or adore a wooden Image or a Picture*, says the Christian; *we salute, honour, worship and adore the holy Images*, says the Council. The Use of Images for Memory or Instruction, which alone the Christian defends in that Dialogue or Dispute, is in itself innocent and lawful; and the Emperor *Leo* would no more have destroyed them, had they been only employed for those Purposes, than good King *Hezekiah* would have destroyed the brazen Serpent, had it only served for a Memorial of the Miracle, that God had been pleased to work by it. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* condemned indeed, as the Council observes, *Nabucodonozor* for destroying the Cherubims in the Temple. But between the Cherubims and the Images pleaded for by the Council there was this no small Difference, which the learned Fathers were not, or pretended not to be, aware of; *viz.* that the Cherubims were made by God's express Command, and were not worshipped, nor so much as seen by the People; whereas their Images were not made, to say no more, by God's Command, and were both seen and worshipped, contrary to his Command, by the People. Had they even been made, as well as

the Cherubims, by an expreſs Command of God, the Worſhip, that was given them, would have juſtified the breaking them, as the Worſhip, that was given to the brazen Serpent, juſtified the breaking it, tho' it was made by God's own Command. However from the Words of the Chriſtian in the above-mentioned Dialogue, and thoſe of *Cyril* againſt *Nabucodonozor*, it was concluded by the whole Aſſembly, that the Iconoclaſts were no Chriſtians, but *Jews* or *Samaritans* (it not being, according to them, Faith in Chriſt, but the Worſhip of Images, that makes a Chriſtian) guilty of the ſame Crime, for which the wicked King *Nabucodonozor* was condemned by the holy Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. Year of Chriſt 787.

Laſtly were read in this Seſſion, and anſwered, as was pretended, ſome Paſſages out of the many, that might have been alleged from the Fathers, againſt the Worſhip of Images. But the Anſwers were, for the moſt part, the very ſame with thoſe, that are given in our Days by the *Roman* Catholic Divines to elude the Teſtimonies of the Scriptures and the Fathers, *viz.* that they ſpeak only of the Images of the Heathens, or of the Worſhip of Images as practiſed by the Heathens; and theſe Anſwers the Reader will find fully confuted in the foregoing Volume[m]. To the plain Teſtimony of St. *Epiphanius* forbidding any Images of Saints, (not Images of the Heatheniſh Deities) to be brought into Churches or Church-yards, leſt the Faithful ſhould be diverted from their Devotions by gazing upon them, their only Anſwer was, that they did not believe *Epiphanius* could have diſapproved of ſuch a Practice. They had never heard, it ſeems, of his Letter to *John* of *Jeruſalem*, wherein he gives him an Account of his having found in a Church, and torn in Pieces a Veil, on which was painted the Image of Chriſt or of ſome Saint, as has been related elſewhere[n]; nor of his Book *on Hereſies*, where he condemns the *Carpocratians* for having an Image of *Jeſus* and worſhipping it[o]. To the Teſtimony of *Euſebius* holding it unlawful to paint Chriſt, they had nothing to reply, but that *Euſebius* was a Heretic and an *Arian*; tho' in the very Paſſage, that was quoted, he acknowleged the Divinity of Chriſt in the plaineſt Terms[p]. But had he even been an *Arian*, his Authority ought nevertheleſs to have been of as much Weight with the Council, as the Authority of a Catholic, the *Arians* being as orthodox with reſpect to Images as the

Paſſages from the Fathers againſt Images how anſwered by the Council.

[m] See vol. 3. p. 215, & ſeq. [n] See vol. 3. p. 227. [o] Epiph. contr. hæreſ. l. 1. hær. 27. [p] See vol. 3. p. 231. note F.

Catholics

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Catholics themſelves: Nay, they quote him themſelves for an apoſtolical Tradition [q], either forgetting that he was an *Arian*, or thinking that his being an *Arian* did not in the leaſt invalidate his Authority in a Point, that had no Connection with *Arianiſm*. Had an impertinent Iconoclaſt asked the good Fathers, why in one Place they thought the Authority of *Euſebius* of great Weight, notwithſtanding his *Arianiſm*, and in another thought it of no Weight on account of his *Arianiſm*? They could have given no other Anſwer, but that in the one Place he was for them, and was againſt them in the other.

And how the Paſſages from Scripture.

When the ſecond Commandment was alleged, and other Paſſages out of the Scripture forbidding the Worſhip of Images, they were angry that Words, ſpoken long ago to the *Jews*, ſhould be applied to the Chriſtians, as if the Precepts of the Decalogue were not binding with reſpect to the Chriſtians, and our Saviour had come to deſtroy the Law, and not to fulfil it. And now the Council having made it appear, in the Manner we have ſeen, that the Doctrine of Image-worſhip was entirely agreeable to the Scriptures, the Fathers and the Councils; that it had been confirmed by innumerable Miracles, and oppoſed by none, ſince the Times of the Apoſtles to the preſent, but by *Jews*, *Samaritans*, *Saracens*, and the worſt of Heretics, *Sabas*, Abbot of *Studium*, moved that the Reſtoration of Images might be decreed by the holy and œcumenical Council, and the Pope's Legates that a venerable Image ſhould be brought into the Council, and an *honorary Adoration* ſhould by all be paid to it. The Council agreed to both Motions; but the iſſuing the Decree, and the Ceremony of the *honorary Adoration* were put off to the next Day, and the Seſſion ended, as uſual, with a Peal of repeated Anathemas againſt all, who refuſed to ſalute, honour, worſhip and adore the holy and venerable Images [r].

Sixth Seſſion. An Image brought in and adored by the Council.

The next Day, the fifth of *October*, the Fathers met again, when an Image of our Saviour being brought into the Council, agreeably to the Motion of the Legates, the whole Aſſembly paid it an *honorary Adoration*, as it was ſtiled, or an *Adoration of Honour*, conſiſting in all the outward Acts of Adoration and Worſhip they would have given to Chriſt himſelf, had he been preſent. This Ceremony was attended with a Litany of Anathemas againſt all who did not ſalute the holy and venerable Images, who broke them, who called

[q] Seſſ. 6. [r] Concil. Nic. 2. ſeſſ. 5.

them Idols, who thought it Idolatry to worſhip them, or did not curſe the impious Council, that condemned them, and all who ſat in it. When this Ceremony was over, they undertook to anſwer the Reaſons and Arguments alleged againſt Images by the Council of *Conſtantinople*; with what Succeſs we have ſeen elſewhere[s]. The Acts of the Council of *Conſtantinople* were read by *Gregory* Biſhop of *Neocæſarea*, who had aſſiſted at it, and the Anſwers to them, which they had drawn up before-hand and divided into ſix Tomes or Sections, by the two Deacons *John* and *Epiphanius*. The Anſwers, however abſurd and impertinent, were approved and applauded by all, and the wicked Council, that had attempted to baniſh Chriſtianity, and introduce Judaiſm in its Room, anathematized anew with all, who did not condemn, curſe and reject it. Year of Chriſt 787.

In the ſeventh Seſſion, held on the 13th of *October*, they came to the Definition of Faith; and it was decreed, that Images not only of Chriſt, but of the Virgin *Mary*, of the holy Angels, and of all the Martyrs and Saints, ſhould be ſet up in Places of Worſhip, on the Highways and in private Houſes; that they ſhould be uſed on the ſacred Utenſils to put us in mind of thoſe, whom they repreſented; that they ſhould be worſhipped and adored, not with that Adoration and Worſhip, that was due to God alone, but with an honorary Worſhip, or a Worſhip of Honour, and laſtly that all, who diſapproved or oppoſed ſuch a Worſhip as unlawful, ſhould be depoſed, if Eccleſiaſtics or Biſhops, and excommunicated, if Monks or Laymen. The Decree was ſigned by all the Biſhops amidſt repeated Wiſhes of long Life and Happineſs to the new *Conſtantine* and the new *Helena*, and repeated Anathemas againſt all, who did not agree to the Definition of the holy œcumenical Council, who did not ſalute, honour, worſhip and adore the holy and venerable Images. The Decree being ſigned, Letters were written by *Taraſius*, in the Name of the Council, to *Conſtantine* and *Irene*, to Pope *Hadrian*, and to all the Biſhops of the Catholic Church, with a Copy of the Definition of Faith, which the Church Univerſal, repreſented by them, had approved, and all true Chriſtians were bound to receive as dictated by him, who promiſed to be with his Church *even unto the End of the World*. At the ſame Time it was ordained, that the Day, the 13th of *October*, on which the Decree of Faith was happily iſſued, ſhould be for ever kept as a Feſtival, to return Thanks to the Almighty for the *Seventh Seſſion. Their Decree and Definition of Faith.*

[s] See vol. 3. p. 359, & ſeq.

Extir-

Year of Chriſt 787.

Extirpation of the worſt of Hereſies, and the Reſtoration of the Catholic Faith and Chriſtian Piety.

The Decree confirmed by the Empreſs and the Emperor.

In the mean Time *Irene*, who had taken Care to be daily informed of all that paſſed in the Council, thinking it would add no ſmall Weight and Authority to their Definition and Decrees, were they confirmed in her Preſence and the Preſence of the Emperor, ſent an Order to the Patriarch, upon the Receipt of his Letter, enjoining him to repair, as ſoon as he conveniently could, with all the Biſhops to the Imperial City. The Order was readily complied with; and the Biſhops meeting on the 23d of *October* in the great Hall of the Imperial Palace of *Blachernæ*, the Emperor and the Empreſs came into the Aſſembly, attended by their Guards, by the Magiſtrates, and by all the great Officers of State, and being ſeated on a high Throne, when the noiſy and unbecoming Acclamations of the Biſhops allowed them to ſpeak, they deſired the Decree of Faith iſſued by the holy œcumenical Council might be read ſo as to be heard by all. It was read accordingly; and the Empreſs addreſſing herſelf, as ſoon as it was read, to the Biſhops, asked them whether the Decree they had heard was iſſued with one Conſent, whether they all agreed to it, and had freely ſigned it? The Biſhops anſwered, *we all agree to it; we have all freely ſigned it; this is the Faith of the Apoſtles, of the Fathers, of the Catholic Church; we all ſalute, honour, worſhip and adore the holy and venerable Images: Be they accurſed, who do not honour, worſhip and adore the adorable Images. Long live the new* Conſtantine, *long live the new* Helena. When the Noiſe ceaſed, *Taraſius* preſented the Decree to the Empreſs, who having ſigned it, and made her Son ſign it, returned it to the Patriarch amidſt the loud Acclamations of the Biſhops, ecchoed on all Sides by the Populace in the Avenues to the Palace and in the Streets. Thus ended this famous Council; and the Aſſembly was no ſooner diſmiſſed, than by an Order from the Empreſs Images were ſet up anew not only in all Places of Worſhip, but in the Squares, in the Streets, and over the Gates of the Imperial Palaces and the City, the ſuperſtitious Multitude crouding every-where about them, and paying them, now that their Superſtition was authorized by a General Council, all the external Acts of Adoration and Worſhip, that ever were paid by the groſſeſt Idolaters to their Idols. And thus was the Worſhip of Images, which the three preceding Emperors *Leo* II. *Conſtantine* IV. and *Leo* III. had taken ſo much Pains to extirpate, reſtored

And Images ſet up anew.

restored by a Woman, who had bound herself by a solemn Oath never to worship Images, nor suffer them to be worshipped in the Empire. Year of Christ 787.

Two Things occur to be examined relating to this Council before I have done with it. 1. Whether it may truly be called a General Council, and was received as such by the Catholic Church. 2. What kind of Worship it defined to be given to Images. As to the first, they constantly stile themselves *the holy Oecumenical Council*; or, as if that were not enough, *the Catholic Church*. But that they had no kind of Right to either of these Titles may be easily shown. For in the first Place the Assembly entirely consisted of the Pope's Legates, and the Subjects of the Empire, not one Bishop from *Africa*, *France*, *Germany*, *Spain* or *Britain*, having been so much as invited to it, or known any thing of it, till they heard, with the greatest Surprise and Astonishment, of the Decree they had issued. The three eastern Patriarchs knew no more of it, as has been shown[t], than the western Bishops, nor did their Suffragans: And no Council can, according to *Bellarmine* himself[u], be truly called a General Council, much less the Catholic Church, unless preceded by a General Invitation, and notified before-hand *in all the greater Christian Provinces*; nay this very Council would not allow, as *Bellarmine* observes[w], that of *Constantinople* against Images to be called a General Council because it was not preceded by a General Invitation. The Absence of the Patriarchs was with the Council of *Nice* another Exception against the Council of *Constantinople*. But that Exception too was common to both, unless it be said that the Presence of one Patriarch does not entitle a Council to the Appellation of *General*, but the Presence of two does. 2. No Assembly can deserve the Name of a Council, of which every Member is not allowed an entire Freedom to speak and to vote according to the best of his Judgment. Thus had the present Council, instead of removing to *Nice*, continued at *Constantinople*, and there been forced by the Iconoclast Soldiery to confirm the Council against Images, such a Confirmation, as it was not free, would not have been received, however unanimously agreed to, as the Decision of a General Council. Now the Iconoclasts were no more free at *Nice*, than the Iconolaters or Worshippers of Images would have been free had they continued at *Constantinople*. The

The Council of Nice *no General Council.*

It consisted only of the Subjects of the Empire and the Pope's Legates.

It was not free.

[t] See above, p. 85.
[u] Bellar. de Concil. & Eccles. l. 2. c. 17.
[w] Idem ibid.

Year of Chriſt 787.

Empreſs, the Pope, the Patriarch had conſpired to reſtore Images at all Events; *Taraſius*, a Man of great Art, Addreſs, and Experience in the Management of Affairs, was, in defiance of the Canons, raiſed to the Patriarchal Dignity as the moſt capable of carrying that Deſign into Execution; the Pope had approved of his uncanonical Election upon condition that he got the holy Images reſtored; the Council was aſſembled, not to examine whether it was lawful or not to uſe Images and to worſhip them, but to eſtabliſh the Uſe and the Worſhip of them; none were allowed to ſit in it, who did not hold and profeſs the Doctrine of Image-worſhip, or if they had at any Time held the oppoſite Doctrine, did not publicly abjure it as a wicked Hereſy; and was that a free Council? 3. It was not received as a General Council in any of the eaſtern Patriarchates beſides that of *Conſtantinople*, as *Baronius* himſelf ingenuouſly owns[w], was condemned in the Weſt *as a falſe Synod of the* Greeks by a Council of 300 Biſhops, and rejected in *Britain* as eſtabliſhing *a Doctrine, that was contrary to the true Catholic Doctrine, and utterly abhorred and deteſted by the Catholic Church*[x]; nay ſo very little was it regarded in the Weſt, that we do not find it once quoted in the Diſputes, that happened in the ſucceeding Centuries about Images, when the Definition of a Council, acknowleged for a General Council, would have proved deciſive. Some of the more ancient Schoolmen, and *Aquinas*, the *Angelic Doctor*, among the reſt, far from quoting it on the Subject of Images, have determined expreſly againſt it; a plain Proof that they either knew nothing of ſuch a Council, or paid it no kind of Regard; and either ſufficiently ſhows that it was not ranked in their Times amongſt the General Councils. 4. The Doctrine the Council eſtabliſhed was evidently repugnant to the Doctrine of the Scripture and the primitive Fathers, and only grounded, as was obſerved by the Author of the *Caroline* Books, which I ſhall ſoon have Occaſion to ſpeak of, on Apocryphal Tales, on Apparitions and Viſions, on Monkiſh Dreams, and old Womens Stories, more fit to be related by Nurſes for the Entertainment of Children, than by Biſhops to eſtabliſh a Dogma of Faith. Upon the whole, no Man can peruſe, with the leaſt Degree of Attention, the Acts of this Council without being tempted to queſtion, I will not ſay the Infallibility, but even the common Senſe of thoſe, who compoſed it. It was ſurely an Aſſembly of the moſt ignorant, ſuperſtitious, and credulous Men,

Nor received in the Weſt as a General Council.

The Doctrine it eſtabliſhed repugnant to Scripture.

[w] Bar. ad ann. 863. n. 6. [x] M. Weſtmonaſt. ad ann. 793.

that ever met; and I moſt ſincerely pity the hard Fate of the learned Men, who in theſe enlightened Ages are bound to defend, and expoſe themſelves by defending, what in thoſe dark Times Ignorance, Superſtition and Credulity produced. Year of Chriſt 787.

As for the Worſhip, which the Council defined to be given to Images; what Worſhip that was; what we are to underſtand by the ambiguous Terms of *honorary Adoration*, or *Adoration of Honour*, we can only learn from the Practice of the Church, in which that Definition is received as an Oracle of Faith, or from the Senſe, in which thoſe Terms have been underſtood and expounded by the moſt eminent Divines of that Church. Now ſtanding to the Practice of the Church and of all good Catholics, by *honorary Adoration* was meant that we ſhould uncover our Heads to Images, that we ſhould kiſs them, kneel and bow down to them, burn Lights and Incenſe before them, and in ſhort give to the Images, not only of our Saviour, but of every canonized Saint, all outward Marks of the Worſhip and Adoration, that is due to God. That this is the Practice of the Church of *Rome* is well known to all, who have but ever ſet Foot in a Popiſh Country, and theſe very Acts of Worſhip are ſpecified by the Council of *Trent* as decreed before by the Council of *Nicey*. *What Worſhip the Council defined to be given to Images.*

Theſe external Acts of Worſhip are, by the Definition or Decree of the Council, to be given not only to the Objects, which the Images repreſent, but to the Images themſelves, as the Definition of the Council has been underſtood and explained by their greateſt Divines. Some of them indeed, *viz. Durandus*, *Holcot*, *Picus Mirandula* and a few more have taught, that by the Definition of the Council Images are to be worſhipped, but only *improperly* and *abuſively*, as they put us in mind of the Objects they repreſent, and we thereupon worſhip thoſe Objects before them. But their Opinion is by all the reſt cenſured as repugnant to the Definition of the holy œcumenical Council; and to make good their Cenſure they allege the following, in my Opinion, unanſwerable Reaſons. 1. *Improper* and *abuſive* Worſhip is, in Truth, no Worſhip at all; and hence it follows, that if the Council only defined an *improper* and *abuſive* Worſhip to be given to Images, the Heretics, whom they condemned for ſaying that Images were not to be worſhipped, would have ſpoken more properly than they, and been unjuſtly condemned. 2. As we cannot at all be ſaid to love a beautiful Creature, tho' the Sight of it puts us in mind *The Images themſelves to be worſhipped.*

[y] Concil. Trid. ſeſſ. 25.

Year of Christ 787.

of the Creator, and excites us to love him, unless our Love terminates upon the Creature as well as the Creator; so neither can we at all be said to worship an Image, tho' it puts us in mind of the Saint it represents, and excites us to worship him, unless our Worship terminates upon the Image as well as the Saint. 3. The Council declared, that Images are to be worshipped, but not with the Worship of *Latria:* Now if the Council had meant no other Worship but that of the Object in the Presence of the Image, there had been no Occasion to except the Worship of *Latria*, since the most perfect *Latria* may be given to Christ in the Presence of his Image. 4. The Heretics, whom the Council condemned, *viz.* the Iconoclasts, did not hold it unlawful to worship an Object worthy of Worship in the Presence of an Image, or when we were put in mind of the Object, and excited to worship it by the Sight of an Image, but to worship the Image itself; and it was not to prevent the People from worshipping in the Presence of Images, but to prevent them from worshipping the Images, that they broke and destroyed them. The Council therefore, in condemning them as Heretics declared it was Heresy not to worship the Images themselves. These are the Reasons alleged by the most eminent Divines of the Church of *Rome* to show, that the Worship, which the Council defined to be given to Images, was true and real Worship, and consequently, that the Opinion of those, who taught, that Images were to be worshipped only *improperly* and *abusively*, was repugnant to the Definition of the Council. And now whether we stand to the Practice of that Church, or to the Explanation of her ablest Divines, it must be owned that the Council by the Terms of *honorary Adoration*, or *Adoration of Honour* meant true and real Worship, and defined it to be given to Images, anathematizing, that is cursing and damning, all, who dissented from them either in Practice or in Doctrine. And hence it is evident that when a *Roman* Catholic tells us they do not worship Images, he either knows not the Sense of his Church, or shamefully prevaricates, not caring that the Protestants should know it. Here indeed he may deny they worship Images, and with the famous Bishop of *Meaux* explain away the Worship, which the Council defined to be given to them, till it is reduced to the Respect or the Reverence, which the Protestants show to the sacred Utensils or the Bible, thus he may, I say, explain away that Worship here without any other Danger than that of being looked upon as grosly prevaricating to palliate a Doctrine,

With true and real Worship.

which

which he is aſhamed to own, and cannot defend. But let him take Care to alter his Language in *Spain* and in *Italy* leſt ſomething worſe ſhould befall him. Year of Chriſt 786.

That Images are to be worſhipped with true and real Worſhip is, as we have ſeen, the received and avowed Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*; but with what kind of true and real Worſhip, whether with *Latria*, *Hyperdulia*, *Dulia*, or with ſome other Worſhip, for which no Name has yet been coined, the Church has not defined, nor can her Divines well determine. Some are of Opinion, that the Image is to be worſhipped with the very ſame Worſhip, that is given to the Prototype; ſo that, according to them, the Image of our Saviour is to be worſhipped with *Latria*, the Image of the Virgin *Mary* with *Hyperdulia*, and the Images of the other Saints with *Dulia*. Others will not allow the ſame Worſhip to be given to the Image, that is given to the Prototype, but ſtand up for a different and diſtinct Worſhip, tho' none of them can tell what that Worſhip is. I ſhall not trouble the Reader with the Arguments, if we may ſo call them, that are alleged by either Side to ſupport their own and impugn the oppoſite Opinion, but only obſerve, that chuſe what Side you will, you are arraigned by the other of Idolatry. To worſhip the Image with a Worſhip diſtinct from that, which we give to the Prototype, is to worſhip the Image as ſeparated from the Prototype, and for its own Sake; and that is rank Idolatry; ſay they of the one Side. To worſhip the Image with the ſame Worſhip we give to the Prototype is to worſhip the Image of our Saviour, or of the Trinity with *Latria* or the ſupream Worſhip, that is due to God alone; and that, ſay thoſe of the other Side, is rank Idolatry. And thus they, who worſhip Images, muſt neceſſarily be guilty of Idolatry, according to ſome of their own Divines, whether the Worſhip they give them be the ſame with, or diſtinct from, that which they give to the Prototypes; and it muſt be the one or the other. As we can therefore by no other Means be, in the Opinion of all, free from the heinous Sin of Idolatry, but by giving no kind of Worſhip whatever to Images, he muſt be more ſenſleſs than the very Stocks and Stones he worſhips, who does not ſee what Party he is to take, and quite regardleſs of his eternal Happineſs, if he does not take it. Thus far of the Second Council of *Nice*; and I have dwelt the longer upon it, which I hope the Proteſtant Reader will excuſe, as I thought it neceſſary he ſhould be rightly informed of the whole Proceedings of that Aſſembly, which

Great Diſagreement amongſt the Popiſh Divines about the Worſhip given to Images.

Whatever Worſhip is given to Images, thoſe who give it guilty of Idolatry in the Opinion of ſome of their Divines.

Year of Christ 786.

which ſome Writers have taken ſo much Pains to diſguiſe, and at the ſame Time ſhould know upon what Principles the Worſhip of Images which has occaſioned ſuch Diſputes and Diviſions in the Church, was firſt eſtabliſhed; what kind of Worſhip was eſtabliſhed to be given to them, and who were the Men that eſtabliſhed it, making it Damnation not to worſhip Images, when it had been, for the Space of 700 Years, Damnation to worſhip them.

Charlemagne *the third Time at* Rome.

While the Biſhops were all thus employed in new-modelling the Chriſtian Worſhip in the Eaſt, the Pope was wholly intent in the Weſt on enlarging his temporal Dominions, and improving the Generoſity of his Friend and great Benefactor *Charlemagne* to the Advantage of his See. That Prince came this Year, the third Time, to *Rome*, and was there received and entertained with great Magnificence by the Pope. That Journey he undertook to ſurpriſe *Arichis*, Duke of *Benevento*, who had conſpired with the *Greeks* to drive the *French* quite out of *Italy*, and was ſolliciting the other *Lombard* Princes to join in the Undertaking. But as the Deſign was not yet quite ripe for Execution, no ſooner did the Duke hear of the unexpected Arrival of *Charlemagne* at *Rome*, than he ſent his Son *Romald* with rich Preſents to excuſe it in the beſt Manner he could, and aſſure the King that he ſhould thenceforth have no Occaſion to complain of his Conduct. *Charlemagne* was inclined to accept his Submiſſion and forgive him; but being diverted from it by the Pope, to gratify his Holineſs he entered the Duke's Dominions laying them every-where waſte with Fire and Sword, took ſeveral Cities, and advancing to the very Gates of *Benevento* would have made himſelf Maſter of that Metropolis, had not the Biſhops interpoſed, and prevailed upon him to ſet Bounds to his Revenge, and forgive the Duke upon his renewing, with all his Subjects, the Oath of Allegiance he had taken to him, and delivering up to him his Son *Grimoald* with what Number of Hoſtages beſides he ſhould think fit to require. Theſe Terms being agreed to by the King, he withdrew his Troops, and returning to *Rome* celebrated there the Feſtival of Eaſter, which fell this Year 787. on the 8th of *April* [z]. During his Stay in that City, *Hadrian*, who let no Opportunity of aggrandizing his See paſs unimproved, perſuaded him not only to confirm the Donation of his Father *Pepin*, but to add to it the Cities he had taken, in this Expedition, from the Duke of *Benevento*, viz. *Sora*, *Arces*, *Aquinum*,

Year of Christ 787.

Ravages the Dukedom of Benevento.

[z] Annal. Met. & Loiſel. & Eginhard.

Arpinum,

Arpinum, *Theanum*, and *Capua*; nay, from the Letters of *Hadrian* it appears that *Charlemagne* before he left *Rome* yielded ſeveral other Places to St. *Peter*, which had formerly belonged to the *Tuſcan Lombards*. But he was no ſooner gone than *Arichis*, renewing his Alliance with the *Greeks*, began to concert Meaſures, in Conjunction with them, not only for recovering the Cities, that had been lately taken from him, but for placing *Adalgiſus* on the Throne of his Father *Deſiderius*, and reſtoring the Kingdom of the *Lombards*. Of this the Pope was informed by a Prieſt of *Capua* named *Gregory*; and he immediately acquainted *Charlemagne* with it[a]. But in the mean Time the Death of *Arichis* put an End to all his Deſigns; and of that Event too the Pope gave immediate Notice to *Charlemagne*, aſſuring him, at the ſame Time, that the *Beneventans* only waited the Arrival of *Grimoald*, Son of the late Duke, who was kept as an Hoſtage in *France*, to begin Hoſtilities, under his Conduct, and adviſing him by no means to allow him to return, which, he ſaid, would alone defeat all their Meaſures[b]. *Charlemagne* however, not hearkening to the Suggeſtions of the Pope, no ſooner heard of the Death of *Arichis* than he ſet *Grimoald* at Liberty, and gave him Leave to return Home and take Poſſeſſion of the Dukedom of his Father, upon his promiſing to ſide, on all Occaſions, with the *French* againſt the *Greeks*; to oblige his *Lombards* to ſhave after the *French* Manner; to put in the public Writings and on the Money the Name of *Charles* in the firſt Place and his own after it, and to diſmantle the Cities of *Salerno*, *Acerenza*, and *Conſa*, which his Father had fortified. The Pope, finding *Charlemagne* had acted therein contrary to his Advice, wrote to him to aſſure him, that it was not becauſe he bore any ill Will to *Grimoald* that he had given it, but becauſe he apprehended that the Preſence of ſo bold and enterpriſing a Youth might, at this critical Juncture, prove extremely prejudicial to the Intereſt both of the *French* and St. *Peter*. From the ſame Letter it appears, that the Pope had already got Poſſeſſion of all the Places in *Tuſcany* that *Charlemagne* had yielded to him the preceding Year, except *Populonia* and *Roſellæ*. Theſe were *Caſtellum Felicitatis*, *Urbevetum*, *Balneum Regis*, *Ferentum*, *Viterbium*, *Marta*, *Tuſcania*, *Populonia*, *Soana*, and *Roſellæ*, ſome of them Cities in thoſe Days of great Note. As for the Cities in *Campania* mentioned above, the *Beneventan Lombards* had, it ſeems, retaken them all or-

Year of Chriſt 787.

Is perſuaded by the Pope to yield to St. Peter *the Places taken from that Duke.*

The Duke dies and his Son ſuffered to ſucceed him contrary to the Advice of the Pope.

Year of Chriſt 788.

Places yielded to St. Peter.

[a] Cod. Carol. ep. 88. [b] Cod. Carol. ep. 90.

moſt

Year of Christ 788.

most of them; and *Grimoald*, the new Duke, resided, at this very Time, in *Capua* boasting, says the Pope, that he had been preferred to St. *Peter*[c]. He kept nevertheless with great Fidelity to his Engagements with *France*. For *Adalgisus* landing this Year in *Calabria* with a powerful Army sent by *Irene* to drive the *French* quite out of *Italy*, *Grimoald*, and *Hildebrand*, Duke of *Spoleti*, joining with all their Forces the few Troops, that *Winigise*, the *French* General, had brought with him from *France*, engaged the *Greeks* and gained a complete Victory over them with very little Loss on their Side. *John*, the *Greek* General, was taken Prisoner and put to a cruel Death; but *Adalgisus* had the good Luck to make his Escape, and get safe to *Constantinople*, where, laying aside all Thoughts of any further Attempts of this kind, he passed in Peace and in Quiet the remaining Part of his Life[d]. This War was attended with an open Rupture between *Charlemagne* and *Irene*, and the Treaty of Marriage between the young Emperor *Constantine* and *Rotrude*, the Daughter of *Charlemagne*, betrothed to that Prince ever since the Year 781, being thereby entirely broken off, the unnatural Mother obliged her Son to marry an *Armenian*, named *Mary*, of a very mean Birth and a meaner Education, in spite of his warm and repeated Remonstrances against such a Match[e]. This Violence she used with him, and the despotic Power she assumed over him even when he was of Age, and exercised throughout the Empire, obliged him, in his Turn, to use Violence with her; and thence arose the Disturbances I shall soon have Occasion to relate.

The Greeks *defeated in* Italy *by the* French.

The Treaty of Marriage between the young Emperor and the Daughter of Charlemagne *broken off.*

Charlemagne, tho' thus engaged in War with the *Greeks*, and at the same Time with several other Nations, did not suffer his Attention to be so engrossed by military Affairs as to neglect those of Religion; nay, to do him Justice, he took no less Pains to establish the Christian Religion, tho' not always by the most Christian Means, in the Countries he conquered, than he took Pains to conquer them. In his own Kingdom he made it his Study, as appears from the Capitulars he published at different Times, to reform the Abuses, that had crept into the Church, to maintain the Catholic Faith in its greatest Purity, and to suppress all new and heretical Doctrines or Opinions. Amongst these he reckoned the Doctrine of Image-worship established by the late Council of *Nice*; and therefore no sooner had

The Council of Nice *confuted by* Charlemagne.

Year of Christ 790.

[c] Ibid. ep. 86. [d] Annal. Loisel. Eginhard. in Annal. ad ann. 788.
[e] Theoph. ad ann. 788. Eginhard. in Annal.

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he perused the Acts of that Council transmitted to him perhaps by the Pope, then equally amazed at the Ignorance of the *Greeks* and shocked at their unaccountable Proceedings in making the Worship of Images an Article of the Christian Faith, and damning all, who did not worship them, he either undertook himself, or encouraged others to undertake a Confutation of that Council and its Doctrine. The Work contains 120 Heads of Accusation against *the false Synod of the* Greeks, or, as *Hadrian* stiles them, *Reprehensions*, and is divided into four Books known by the Name of the *Caroline Books*; for whether they were written by *Charlemagne* himself with the Assistance of the famous *Alcuin*, who was formerly his Preceptor, as some think, or at his Desire, by the Bishops and the learned Men of *France*, which is the Opinion of *Du Pin*, and seems to be insinuated in the Preface prefixed to the Work, it is certain that he adopted that Performance, and declared himself the Author of it by constantly speaking in the first Person as if he himself had composed it. He was, as all agree, who speak of him, a Prince of uncommon Learning, well acquainted both with sacred and profane History, and had particularly applied himself to the Study of the holy Scriptures, a Study at this Time generally neglected; so that he was, at least, equal to such an Undertaking. The Work was begun when the Acts of the Council were first sent into *France*; but it did not appear till the latter End of the present Year 790; so that three Years were spent by *Charlemagne*, or by those, whom he employed, in composing it. Indeed *Charlemagne* passed the whole Year 790. at *Worms* without engaging, as his Secretary informs us[f], in any military Expedition, perhaps that he might be at Leisure to put the last Hand to that Work. It contains a full Confutation of the Doctrine established by the *Greek* Synod, as well as of the Grounds, upon which they established it, with many very severe and cutting Reflections on the Empress, on *Tarasius*, on other particular Members, and on the Council in general, for introducing a Practice evidently repugnant to the Scriptures, to the Fathers, to the Tradition of the Church, and blasphemously fathering such a Practice on the holy Apostles, and their immediate Successors, as if they had practised and taught what it is plain from their Writings they utterly abhorred. "The Acts of "that Council, says *Charlemagne* in the Preface, for he is the Per- "son, who speaks, the Acts of that Council, destitute of Eloquence,

Year of Christ 790.

The Caroline *Books.*

[f] Eginhard. in Annal.

Year of Christ 790.

" nay and all Senſe, having reached us, we have thought ourſelves " bound to confute the many groſs Errors they contain, that ſhould " they infect the Hands, into which they may fall, or the Ears, that " may hear them, this our Treatiſe might ſerve as an Antidote againſt " ſo dangerous an Infection."

Finds fault with the Councils both of Conſtantinople *and* Nice.

He finds fault with the Council, that was convened by *Conſtantine* as well as with that, which was convened by *Irene*, and with reſpect to both expreſſes himſelf thus; " ſome Years ſince was held a Coun- " cil in *Bithynia* deſtitute of all Diſcernment, Diſcretion and Pru- " dence, for not diſtinguiſhing between Images and Idols, they or- " dered the Images, which the Ancients had placed in the Churches " by way of Ornament, or only for Inſtruction, to be caſt out and " deſtroyed as ſo many Idols, applying to them what is ſaid in the " Scriptures of Idols, and impudently boaſting that their Emperor " *Conſtantine* had delivered them and the Church from Idolatry. " Another Council was held three Years ago likewiſe in *Bithynia*, " conſiſting partly of thoſe, who aſſiſted at the firſt, and partly of their " Succeſſors. But tho' the Sentiments of the latter are diametrically " oppoſite to thoſe of the former, they too have groſly erred. The " ſecond Council anathematizes the firſt, and obliges us to adore the " Images, which the other would not ſo much as allow us to look at. " Thoſe of the ſecond, not diſtinguiſhing between our having Images " and our worſhipping them, ignorantly argue from the Paſſages in " the Scriptures and the Fathers, where Images are only mentioned, " that we muſt worſhid and adore them. We avoid both Extremes; " neither do we worſhip Images, nor do we deſtroy them: We wor- " ſhip God alone, and have due Veneration for the Saints according to " the ancient Tradition of the Church. We ſuffer their Images in " our Churches to ſerve as Ornaments and Helps to Memory. But as " for the abſurd Synod, that commands us to worſhip them, we utterly " reject it, and have undertaken to confute it Article by Article, where " it is intelligible, and not too abſurd to be worthy of our Notice." Thus *Charlemagne* in his Preface.

Miſtaken with reſpect to the Doctrine of the Council of Conſtantinople.

But he had not, it ſeems, a right Notion of the Doctrine of the Council of *Conſtantinople*. For the Fathers of that Aſſembly did not think the Uſe of Images unlawful in itſelf, nor did they confound Images, in general, with Idols. But finding by Experience, that they could not allow Images and prevent the Multitude from turning them into Idols by worſhipping them, they ordered them on

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that Conſideration, and on that alone, to be caſt out of the Churches and deſtroyed. The Emperor *Leo* himſelf was not at firſt averſe to the Uſe of Images as Ornaments, or even as Helps to Devotion and to Memory. For at the ſame Time that he forbid them to be worſhipped, he ordered them to be placed higher in the Churches, that, as Men were divided in their Opinions about them, they might neither be worſhipped nor abuſed; and it was the Superſtition of the People, that obliged him in the End, againſt his Inclination, to deſtroy them, as the Superſtition of the *Iſraelites* obliged the good King *Hezekiah* to deſtroy the brazen Serpent, tho' made by God's Command g; ſo that *Charlemagne* and *Leo*, the firſt Iconoclaſt Emperor, differed only in this, that the one thought Images ſhould rather be deſtroyed than the People be expoſed to the Danger of Idolatry; and the other, that the People ſhould rather be expoſed to the Danger of Idolatry than Images be deſtroyed. Year of Chriſt 790.

In the Treatiſe itſelf *Charlemagne* anſwers one by one, and indeed with a great deal of Erudition and Learning, the Arguments, that were alleged by thoſe of *Nice* in Favour of Image-worſhip; ſhows that the Paſſages they quoted from the Scriptures and the Fathers were all either falſified and corrupted, or quite foreign to their Purpoſe; ridicules, as unworthy of any other Anſwer, the many abſurd and incredible Tales they gravely related and pretended to credit, and charges them all along with Ignorance, Superſtition, Credulity, Inſincerity, and above all with Pride and Preſumption in daring to impoſe upon the whole Church Definitions and Decrees, when they were but one Part of the Church; "what Rage and Madneſs was it, "ſays he, for one Church to anathematize all the other Churches, "for a Part of the Church (and what a Part?) to anathematize the "whole! It was curſing without Reaſon, Anger without Power, "damning without Authority." He leaves no Argument, no Authority, no Reaſon, that they had alleged, undiſcuſſed or unanſwered; and concludes that whether he conſiders the Perſons, who compoſed that Aſſembly, or their Method of proceeding, the Doctrine they eſtabliſhed, and the Grounds, on which they eſtabliſhed it, he cannot help looking upon them as the avowed Enemies of Truth, as Men, who to gratify *Irene* had acted contrary to the Dictates of their own Conſciences, and conſpired with her to aboliſh Chriſtianity, and bring in anew Paganiſm in its Room.

Confutes one by one the Arguments of the Fathers of Nice.

g See vol. 3. p. 199.

Year of Christ 790.

The Council of *Nice* met with no better Reception in *England* than it did in *France*. For *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, having communicated a Copy of it to the *Engliſh* Biſhops, that had been ſent him by *Charlemagne*, with whom he lived, at this Time, in great Friendſhip; thoſe Biſhops, not ſatisfied with declaring the Doctrine it contained contrary to the Faith, and a Doctrine to be abhorred by the Catholic Church, engaged *Alcuin* to write againſt it, and owning the Work when it was finiſhed, cauſed it to be preſented by him, in their Names, to *Charlemagne*. Thus M. *Weſtminſter*[h], *Hoveden*[i], and *Dunelmenſis*[k]. This Work of *Alcuin* confuting, ſays M. *Weſtminſter*, the Doctrine of Image-worſhip with the Authority of the holy Scriptures, has not reached our Times, or has not, at leaſt, yet appeared amongſt the other Works of that learned Writer.

That Council confuted at the ſame Time by Alcuin *in the Name of the Biſhops of* England.

The Doctrine of the Adoptionarians.

The Zeal of the *Engliſh* Biſhops and the commendable Endeavours of *Charlemagne* to prevent, as he expreſſes it, the Contagion from ſpreading, that is, to prevent the Doctrine of Image-worſhip, defined in the Eaſt, from being received in the Weſt, were attended with the wiſhed-for Succeſs. For that Doctrine was not only rejected, and rejected with Horror and Deteſtation, in *France* and in *England*, but ſoon after condemned in a Council, that had a much better Claim to the Title of a General Council than that of *Nice*, I mean the Council of *Frankfort*. But to inform the Reader on what Occaſion that Council was aſſembled (for it was not aſſembled to decide any Controverſy about Images, moſt of the weſtern Biſhops approving the Uſe and all condemning the Worſhip of Images) we muſt return back to the Year 783, when the Queſtion, for the determining of which the Council met, was firſt moved, or rather was revived; and it was revived on the following Occaſion. *Elipandus*, Biſhop of *Toledo*, miſpending his Time in theological Speculations inſtead of employing it to inſtruct his Flock in the plain and practical Doctrines of the Goſpel, ſtarted this Queſtion to himſelf, *whether Chriſt, as Man, ſhould be called the natural or the adoptive Son of God, the Son of God by Nature or by Adoption?* And not truſting to his own Judgment, he wrote to *Felix*, Biſhop of *Urgel* in *Catalonia*, who had been his Preceptor, deſiring him to reſolve it. *Felix* anſwered, that *Chriſt, as God, was the natural Son of God, or the Son of God*

[h] M. Weſt. ad ann. 793. [i] Hoveden. Annal. apud Spelman. Concil. t. 1. p. 305, 306. [k] Dunel. decem Script. Col. 111.

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by Nature, but as Man was and ought to be called the adoptive Son of God, or the Son of God by Adoption. *Felix*, not ſatisfied with delivering and explaining that Doctrine in a long Letter to *Elipandus*, wrote afterwards ſeveral other Letters to confirm it with the Authority of the Scriptures and the Fathers; inſomuch that, as he was a Prelate of a moſt unexceptionable Character, he gained in a ſhort Time many, and ſome of them Men of Learning, over to his Opinion. On the other Hand *Elipandus*, a Man greatly reſpected on account of his Dignity, being Biſhop of the firſt See in *Spain*, and no leſs revered by all for his eminent Sanctity and the Auſterity of his Life, ſpared no Pains to propagate the ſame Doctrine, as if no Man could be ſaved, who did not know and profeſs it. Thus partly by their Writings, partly by preaching and diſputing they daily brought over great Numbers to their Party, in the different Provinces of *Spain*, and among the reſt *Aſcarius*, Biſhop of *Bracara*, and an Abbot, named *Fidelis*, a Man of great Learning in thoſe Days[p].

Year of Chriſt 790.

Profeſſed, maintained and propagated by Felix *of* Urgel *and* Elipandus *of* Toledo.

The Doctrine, which *Felix* and *Elipandus* ſtrove with ſo much Zeal to propagate and eſtabliſh as a Catholic Truth, was with no leſs Zeal oppoſed by others, in *Spain* chiefly by *Etherius* Biſhop of *Uxama* and *Beatus* Presbyter, as rank Hereſy, the very ſame Hereſy, that had been condemned in *Neſtorius*. For ſhould we allow, ſaid they, Chriſt to be, as God, the natural Son of God, and the adoptive Son of God, as Man, from thence it would follow, that in Chriſt there are two Sons of God, the natural and the adoptive, and conſequently two Perſons, whereas in Chriſt there is, as has been defined by the Church againſt *Neſtorius*, but one Perſon, the Perſon of the Word, the Son of God by Nature, and at the ſame Time God and Man: In other Words, one Perſon cannot be the natural and adoptive Son of one and the ſame Father; and therefore if we allow Chriſt to be the natural and adoptive Son of God, we muſt, in Oppoſition to the Council of *Epheſus*, acknowlege in him two Perſons. The Argument, on which the *Adoptionarians* (for ſo they were called) laid the chief Streſs, was, that the Humanity of Chriſt was not begotten of the Subſtance of the Father, and conſequently that Chriſt was not, nor could he be called, as Man or according to his Humanity, the natural Son of God. The *Antiadoptionarians* anſwered, that the whole Perſon of Chriſt was begotten of the Subſtance of the Father, and conſequently that he was, and ought abſo-

Arguments for and againſt that Doctrine.

[p] Alcuin. in Præf. ad Lib. adverſ. Elipand.

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Year of Christ 790.

lutely and simply to be called the natural Son of God, tho' the Whole of his Person, comprising his Humanity as well as his Divinity, was not begotten of the Substance of his Father: Thus amongst us Mortals the whole Man, said they, is, and is absolutely and simply called the Son of his Father, tho' the Soul, and consequently the Whole of the Man is not of the Seed of the Father. That Christ consisted of the human and divine Nature; that he was true God and true Man; and of the Substance of the Father, according to his Divinity, but not according to his Humanity, both Parties allowed; nay the *Adoptionarians* anathematized *Nestorius* as well as their Adversaries, striving with many metaphysical Distinctions and Subtleties to reconcile their Doctrine with the Definition of *Ephesus*; so that, in effect, the only Point in Dispute was; whether, consistently with that Definition, Christ might be called, as Man, the Son of God by Adoption, and, as God, the Son of God by Nature? The *Adoptionarians* maintained the Affirmative, and the opposite Party the Negative. If the former argued amiss, as I think they did, all, that can be said of them, is, that they were bad Logicians, but yet good Catholics, since they denied no one Article of the Catholic Faith. But in religious Disputes we constantly find the contending Parties charging each other with all the absurd, heretical and contradictory Doctrines, that appear to them any-ways deducible from the Opinions they impugn. In the present Dispute the *Adoptionarians* were charged by their Adversaries with holding the Doctrine of *Nestorius*, and acknowleging with him two Persons in Christ; and their Adversaries were charged by them in their Turn with holding the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, and confounding with him the two Natures in Christ: For how can we, said *Elipandus*, call Christ, as Man, the Son of God by Nature, unless we suppose the human Nature to have been changed into, or absorbed by the divine?

Their Doctrine examined in a Council at Ratisbon. Year of Christ 792.

As the *Adoptionarians* gained daily new Proselytes in spite of the Opposition they met with from *Etherius* and *Beatus* mentioned above, *Charlemagne* appointed a Council to meet in his Palace at *Ratisbon*, in 792, and commanded *Felix*, as he was his Subject, *Catalonia* being then under the Dominion of *France*, to repair to that Place and there give an Account of his Doctrine. He obeyed; but instead of gaining over to his Opinion any of the Bishops, who composed that Assembly, as he had flattered himself he should, he was himself, or pretended to be, convinced by them of his Error,

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and abjured it accordingly in their Preſence, and in the Preſence of *Charlemagne*, who from *Ratisbon* ſent him to *Rome*, where he acknowleged and publicly retracted his Error anew in the Preſence of the Pope q. As his Converſion was judged ſincere, he was allowed to return to his See. But whether it was ſincere or not, he was ſoon after his Return perſuaded by *Elipandus* to retract his former Retractation; and he began to propagate and to preach with more Zeal than ever the Doctrine he had abjured at *Ratisbon* and *Rome*. As for *Elipandus*, he was ſo entirely ſatisfied of the Truth of that Doctrine, that he wrote a long Letter to *Charlemagne* to convince him that the Fathers, eſpecially his holy Predeceſſors in the See of *Toledo*, had all profeſſed it, and at the ſame Time to beg he would cauſe it to be examined by the Biſhops and the Divines, not doubting but, if they could diveſt themſelves of all Partiality and Prepoſſeſſion, they would all approve and receive what many of them now ſeemed inclined to condemn and reject.

Year of Chriſt 792.

This Letter determined *Charlemagne* to aſſemble a great Council; and he accordingly appointed a Council to meet, in the Summer of the preſent Year 794, at *Frankfort on the Mein*. It conſiſted of about 300 Biſhops from *France*, *Italy*, *Germany* and probably from *England*; for the *Engliſh* Biſhops too were invited to it by *Charlemagne*, as appears from the Letter he wrote to *Elipandus* after the Council r. The two Biſhops *Theophylact* and *Stephen* aſſiſted in the Pope's Name with the Character of his Legates. For tho' *Hadrian* had already examined and condemned the Doctrine of *Elipandus* and *Felix* in a Letter he wrote to the Biſhops of *Spain*, he was not againſt its being examined anew by a Council. The Biſhops met in the royal Palace at *Frankfort*; and *Charlemagne* not only was preſent, but opened the Council himſelf with a Speech to the Fathers, giving them an Account of the Doctrine they were met to examine, and exhorting them to take the Scripture for their Guide in delivering their Opinion concerning it. When he had done, the Letter, which *Elipandus* had ſent to him, containing the Authorities and Reaſons, on which he grounded his Opinion, was read, examined, and condemned by all, who were preſent, to a Man, as plainly reviving the Hereſy of *Neſtorius*, which the Church had anathematized in the Council of *Epheſus*. *Charlemagne* himſelf acquainted *Elipandus* with this Sentence, and the whole Proceedings of the Council, exhorting him with

Charlemagne *aſſembles a Council at* Frankfort. Year of Chriſt 794.

The Doctrine of the Adoptionarians *condemned in it.*

q Alcuin. adverſ. Elipand. l. 1. & Eginhard. in Annal. r Apud Bar. ad ann. 794.

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Year of Christ 794.

great Zeal and Tenderneſs to acknowlege his Error, to ſubmit his Judgment to that of ſo many Biſhops, and to join the Apoſtolic See, as well as the Churches of *France*, *Germany* and *Italy* in the Confeſſion of the Catholic Faith[s]. But *Elipandus*, paying no kind of Regard to the Authority of the Council, or the Exhortations of *Charlemagne*, continued ſtill to maintain the ſame Doctrine; and ſome Years paſſed before an End could be put to the preſent Diſpute, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

And likewiſe the Council of Nice.

The Doctrine of the *Adoptionarians* being thus condemned, the Council undertook, in the next Place, to examine the Acts of the Council of *Nice*; and having carefully examined them, they unanimouſly condemned the Worſhip, that was there decreed to be given to Images. This we learn from the ſecond Canon of the preſent Council, the Words of which are; *the Queſtion concerning the new Synod of the* Greeks, *that was held at* Conſtantinople *about worſhipping Images, was then debated; in that Council it was written that they ſhould be anathematized, who did not pay that Service or Adoration to the Images of the Saints, which they paid to the Divine Trinity; hereupon our moſt holy Fathers refuſing by all means to pray to them, or pay them Service, deſpiſed and unanimouſly condemned it*[t]. Such a Canon or Decree iſſued by a Council, that was lawfully aſſembled, that conſiſted of 300 Biſhops, and at which aſſiſted the Legates of the Pope, with whoſe Approbation it was convened, has greatly embaraſſed the Advocates for Images, and the Patrons of the Council that defined it; and they have left no Means unattempted they could think of to reconcile the one Council with the other, and thus ſave the Authority of both. As the Council, condemned by the Council of *Frankfort*, is called in the Canon, that condemns it, the Council of *Conſtantinople*, ſome, and among the reſt *Surius* and *Binius*, the firſt Editors of the Councils, have concluded from thence, that the Fathers of *Frankfort*, far from condemning the Council of *Nice*, confirmed it, and condemned the Council, that was held at *Conſtantinople* under *Copronymus*. And from them, no doubt, was borrowed the Title, that is ſtill prefixed to the Council of *Frankfort* in the *Louvre* Edition, *viz. The Council of* Frankfort, *in which the Hereſy of* Felix *was condemned the third Time by the Biſhops of the whole Kingdom of the* Franks, *of* Italy, Gaul *and* Germany, *in the Preſence of* Charlemagne, *and*

[s] Alcuin. & Paulin. in Lib. adverſ. Elipand. [t] Concil. t. 7. p. 1057.

the Legates of Pope Hadrian Theophylact *and* Stephen, *and the Acts of the ſecond Council of* Nice *about Images were confirmed in* 794. But that the Fathers of *Frankfort* condemned the Worſhip of Images as well as the Council eſtabliſhing that Worſhip, and conſequently confirmed the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Copronymus* ſo far as it condemned the ſame Worſhip, is manifeſt beyond all Diſpute from the Words of the Canon quoted above, and beſides is atteſted by all the contemporary Writers (A). They called, it is true, the Council they condemned the Council of *Conſtantinople*; and the Reaſon why they ſo ſtiled it is obvious: It was begun and was ended at *Conſtantinople*, as has been related above. Some to ſcreen the Council of *Nice* have placed another, which they ſuppoſe to have been held at *Conſtantinople*, between that and the Council of *Frankfort*; and that, ſay they, was the Council of *Conſtantinople* condemned at *Frankfort*, it having been there defined that the ſame Worſhip ſhould be given to Images that was due to the Divine Trinity [u]. But that Council is a mere Invention of their own, not the leaſt mention being made of it by any Hiſtorian whatever; and beſides it is evident from the Authors I have quoted, that, whether any Council was held or not between thoſe of *Nice* and *Frankfort*, the Council condemned at *Frankfort* was that of *Nice*.

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No Council held at Conſtantinople *between the Council of* Nice *and that of* Frankfort.

[u] Annal. Eccl. Franc. ad ann. 794.

(A) *The Synod*, ſays *Eginhard*, a contemporary Writer, *that a few Years before was aſſembled at* Conſtantinople *under* Irene *and her Son* Conſtantine, *and was by them called not only the Seventh, but a General Council, was rejected by all* (1), *viz.* by all the weſtern Biſhops aſſembled at *Frankfort*. *Hincmar*, Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, who lived in the ninth Century, writes thus of the Council of *Frankfort*: *In the Time of* Charlemagne *by Order of the Apoſtolic See, and the Summons of the Emperor, a General Synod was called in* France, *where according to Scripture and the Tradition of the Ancients, the falſe Synod of the* Greeks *was rejected and utterly made void. Thus by the Authority of this Council the Veneration of Images was ſomewhat checked* (2). *The falſe Synod*, ſays *Regino*, *which the* Greeks *had convened for adoring Images, was rejected by the Biſhops* (3); and *Uſpergenſis*, *the Synod, which was aſſembled a few Years before under* Irene *and her Son* Conſtantine, *and which they called the Seventh and a General Council, was rejected by all* (4). *In the Council of* Frankfort, ſays *Aventinus*, *under* Charles the Great, *the Decrees of the* Greeks *for adoring Images were reverſed* (5). The ſame Thing is aſſerted by all the other contemporary Hiſtorians and Annaliſts (6); and all ſpeak of the Council, that was aſſembled under *Conſtantine* and *Irene*, that is of the Second Council of *Nice*, tho' ſtiled by ſome the Council of *Conſtantinople*.

(1) Eginhard. Annal. ad ann. 724. (2) Hincmar Rhem. contr. Laud. c. 20. apud Goldaſt. (3) Regin. Chron. ad ann. 794. (4) Ab Urſperg. Chron. ad ann. 793. (5) Avent. Annal. Boiar. l. 4. p. 253. (6) Vide Hiſt. Franc. Script. t. 2, & 3.

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Whether the Council of Frankfort *miſtook the Meaning of the Council of* Nice?

Sirmond, *Petavius*, and with them the more modern Writers, aſhamed to recur to ſuch poor Subterfuges, ingenuouſly own the Council of *Nice* to have been condemned by that of *Frankfort*, but yet, unwilling to give up either, ſtifly maintain the Definition of the one to be entirely agreeable to that of the other. To make good this Paradox, they tell us, that the Author of the *Caroline* Books as well as the Council of *Frankfort* by a Miſtake in Matter of Fact, (for neither does the Infallibility of the Pope nor that of a General Council extend to Matters of Fact) into which they were led by a bad Tranſlation of the Council of *Nice*, aſcribed to that Council a Doctrine, which they neither held nor defined, and thereupon condemned, at the ſame Time, the Doctrine and the Council. The Doctrine they aſcribed to them was, that *Images are to be worſhipped with the very ſame Worſhip we give to the Divine Trinity*. This Doctrine, ſay they, ſhocked *Charlemagne*, or the Author of the *Caroline* Books, as well as the Fathers of *Frankfort*; and they condemned ſo horrid a Blaſphemy together with the Council, that had, as they took it for granted, defined it. But the Fathers of *Nice*, abhorring that Doctrine as much as the Fathers of *Frankfort*, only defined a *relative*, *inferior*, and *honorary Worſhip* to be given to Images; and that kind of Worſhip the Council of *Frankfort* did not condemn, and may be conſequently ſaid to have rather approved. Thus *Sirmond Petavius*, *De Marca*, *Natalis Alexander*, and *Maimburg*.

They underſtood their Meaning and condemned their Doctrine.

But in the firſt Place the Author of the *Caroline* Books could not poſſibly miſtake the Meaning of the Council, nor could the Fathers of *Frankfort*; as if the Worſhip of *Latria* had been there decreed to be given to Images, or it had been defined that the ſame Worſhip ſhould be given to Images that was given to the Trinity. Indeed the *Nicene* Biſhops ſpoke very ambiguouſly with reſpect to ſome Points, but always diſtinguiſhed, and in ſuch Terms as no Man could miſunderſtand or miſconſtrue, the Worſhip they gave to Images from that, which was according to them, due only to God, declaring in every Act, *that they did not look upon their Images as Gods*; *that they did not worſhip them as the Pagans worſhipped their Idols*; *that they did not give them the Worſhip, that was due only to God, but an inferior, relative and ſubordinate Worſhip*. Thus in their very Definition they all proteſted, that *by an honorary Worſhip they did not mean true* Latria, *which is due only to God*[w]; and *Taraſius*

[w] Concil. Nic. Seſſ. 7.

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in hearing the Pope's Letter read declared, that he received it and the Doctrine it contained, the Worſhip of Images, *reſerving Faith and* Latria *to God alone*[x]. In like manner ſpoke all the reſt, as appears from the Acts: And who can believe that 300 Biſhops, after peruſing thoſe Acts, (for we may well ſuppoſe they peruſed them, and with ſome Degree of Attention) ſhould have thought that *true Latria*, or the Worſhip, that was there ſaid to be due only to God, was commanded to be given to Images? Year of Chriſt 794.

But the *Latin* Tranſlation, ſay the Advocates for the Council of *Nice*, which *Charlemagne* peruſed and the Fathers of *Frankfort*, was very different from the *Greek* Original. In the *Latin* Tranſlation, for inſtance, *Conſtantine* Biſhop of *Conſtantia* in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, is introduced ſaying, *I receive and embrace with Honour the holy and venerable Images, and pay them the ſame Service of Adoration I pay to the Trinity*; whereas in the *Greek* Original he ſays quite the contrary, *I embrace with Honour the holy and venerable Images, but give the Adoration of* Latria *to the Trinity alone*[y]. Now from the Words of *Conſtantine*, as *Charlemagne* and the Fathers of *Frankfort* read them in the *Latin* Tranſlation, they concluded that he thought the ſame Adoration ſhould be given to Images, that was given to the Trinity, and that the reſt of the Council, as none of them offered to contradict him, all conſented to what he had ſaid. And it was upon that Miſtake that the Council of *Frankfort* condemned that of *Nice*. This they urge as an irrefragable Proof, or rather Demonſtration that the Fathers of *Frankfort* miſtook the Meaning of the Fathers of *Nice*, and condemned not the Worſhip, that was, but the Worſhip, that was not decreed at *Nice* to be given to Images. But from the very Paſſage in the *Caroline* Books, where Notice is taken of what was ſuppoſed to have been ſaid by the Biſhop of *Cyprus*, it is evident that the Author of thoſe Books, and conſequently the Fathers of *Frankfort*, well knew that thoſe of *Nice* had not decreed the ſame Worſhip to be given to Images, that was, according to them, due to the Trinity. For in that very Place the Author of thoſe Books obſerves, that in thoſe Words Conſtantine *contradicted the reſt*; that *he betrayed unawares what the reſt ſtrove to conceal*, viz. their giving to Images the Worſhip, that was due to the Trinity; that *in Words indeed they denied their giving the ſame Worſhip to Images and to the Divine Trinity*, *They condemned the very Worſhip that was defined by thoſe of* Nice.

[x] Concil. Nic. Seſſ. 2. [y] Ibid. Seſſ. 3.

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but that their Actions belied their Words[z]. From these Words it is evident beyond all Dispute, that *Charlemagne* knew the Fathers of *Nice* had not defined the same Worship to be given to Images that was, according to them, due to the Trinity, since he charges the Bishop of *Constantia*, saying he gave them the same Worship, with contradicting all the rest. I might add, that had *Charlemagne* and the western Bishops misunderstood the Meaning of the Council, the Pope's Legates, who were present, and knew, as we may well suppose, what kind of Worship had by the *Nicene* Synod been commanded to be given to Images, would have taken Care to acquaint them with it, and not suffered them to condemn, upon such a Mistake, a Council approved by the Pope.

And all kind of Worship.

In the second Place it was not the Worship of *Latria* alone with respect to Images, that *Charlemagne* and the western Bishops rejected and condemned, but religious Worship in general, or religious Worship of every Kind or Degree. Of this no Man can doubt, who has ever but dipt into the *Caroline* Books; for there *Charlemagne* condemns *Adoration, Service, Veneration, Worship of all Kinds*, OMNIMODUM CULTUM, particularly *praying, bowing, kneeling to Images, burning Incense to them, or Lights before them*[a]; he calls it Temerity to compare Images to the Cherubims in the Temple, to the Mercy-seat, or to the Ark[b]; will not allow the same Honour or Reverence to be due to them, that is due to the sacred Utensils or to the Bible[c]; stiles all kind of Adoration, that is given to Images, *superfluous, vain, superstitious, highly absurd*, summæ absurditatis, *sacrilegious*[d]; will have all to conform to the Doctrine of Pope *Gregory the Great*, that is, to *retain Images as Helps to Memory, or for Instruction*, but *to avoid by all Means giving them any kind of Worship*[e]. *Let Images*, says he, *be retained provided all Adoration be excluded*[f]; *Images are so far useful as they put us in mind of the Objects they represent, but God alone is to be worshipped.*

Hadrian *supposes the Worship defined by the one Council to have been condemned by the other.*

3. *Hadrian* in his Answer to the *Caroline* Books, of which I shall soon have Occasion to speak, no-where charges the Author of those Books, or the Fathers of *Frankfort* with mistaking the Meaning of the Fathers of *Nice*, but defends the Worship, that was defined by the one Council, as condemned by the other. Had the Disagree-

[z] Lib. Carol. l. 3. c. 13. [a] Lib. Carol. l. 2. c. 21. 23, 24, 25. 28, 29. 30. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid. l. 2. c. 29, 30. [d] Ibid. l. 2. c. 21. 24, 25. [e] Ibid. c. 21. 23. [f] Ibid. c. 21.

ment

ment between the two Councils been only owing to a Miſtake, would not *Hadrian* have rectified that Miſtake? Would he not have informed the weſtern Biſhops that the Worſhip, which they rejected and condemned, was not the Worſhip, which the *Greeks* had approved and defined? Would he have undertaken to prove, as he did in a long Apology, the Lawfulneſs of a Worſhip inferior to that of *Latria*, had he thought that they, againſt whom he undertook to prove it, condemned no other Worſhip but that of *Latria?* Year of Chriſt 794.

4. The weſtern Biſhops and Churches all perſiſted in rejecting the Council of *Nice* and the Doctrine it had defined, as will appear in the Sequel, even after *Hadrian*, in his Anſwer to the *Caroline* Books, had explained that Doctrine ſo as to leave no Room to doubt of the Meaning of the Council: A convincing Proof or rather Demonſtration, that it was not, as is pretended, becauſe the Fathers of *Frankfort* miſunderſtood the Meaning of thoſe of *Nice*, that they condemned their Council and Doctrine.

The Canon of Frankfort *not grounded on a Miſtake.*

But the very Canon of *Frankfort*, ſay the Writers mentioned above, is evidently grounded on a Miſtake, it being there ſaid, that the ſame Worſhip was commanded, under an Anathema, to be given to Images, that was given to the Divine Trinity; whereas the Fathers of *Nice* declared in twenty Places, that they gave to Images only an *honorary Adoration*, reſerving *true Latria* to God alone. But, 1. If they declared in twenty Places, that they reſerved *true Latria* to God alone, how could *Charlemagne* and 300 Biſhops miſtake their Meaning, and think they had commanded what they called Worſhip of *Latria* to be given to Images? 2. From the *Caroline* Books, which were received and approved by the Fathers of *Frankfort*, it is manifeſt, that they did not admit the Diſtinctions uſed by the *Nicene* Synod of *Latria* and *Dulia*, of *relative* and *abſolute*, of *inferior* and *ſupreme* or *ſuperior* Worſhip, but thought *religious Service*, *Adoration* or *Worſhip*, of what Kind ſoever or Degree, was due to God or was Worſhip of *Latria*, and conſequently that to pay any *Service*, *Adoration* or *Worſhip* whatever to Images was paying to them that *Service*, *Adoration*, or Worſhip, which they paid to the Divine Trinity.

Charlemagne *not prompted by Revenge to condemn the Council of* Nice.

But *Charlemagne*, ſays *Natalis Alexander*, was highly provoked againſt *Irene* for breaking off the Match between her Son and his Daughter; and it is highly probable that to be revenged on her he undertook to confute her Council, and aſſembled a Council in the Weſt

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West to condemn it[f]; that is in other Words, *Charlemagne* did not really think the Doctrine, that was defined at *Nice*, an *absurd*, *impious*, *sacrilegious*, *detestable* Doctrine, Epithets, which he bestows on it in twenty Places of his Work, but nevertheless represented and confuted it as such to be revenged on *Irene*, who had caused it to be defined; and he prevailed on the western Bishops to prostitute their Consciences to his Revenge and condemn it. And is it highly probable, that *Charlemagne*, whom these very Writers extol on all other Occasions as a most religious, a most Christian Prince, a most zealous Defender of the Catholic Faith, should, on this Occasion, have acted so antichristian a Part? That the western Bishops, blindly concurring with him, should have all sacrificed to his peevish Humour their Honour, their Reputation, their Conscience? We must think very meanly both of him and of them to entertain such a Notion. Had the Match been broken off by *Irene*, and not by *Charlemagne* himself, as *Eginhard* his Secretary tells us it was[g], the provoked Prince wanted not other Means of being revenged on her more effectually than by vilifying the holy Images, which I suppose were not against the Match, by excluding them not only from all Worship but even from the Honour or Reverence, that he thought due to the Utensils of the Church, and degrading them into mere Ornaments. He might at this very Time have invaded her *Italian* Dominions, and seized them almost without Opposition: And he had thus more effectually been revenged on the perfidious *Irene* than if he had even turned Iconoclast, and caused all the holy Images to be broken in Pieces and cast into the Flames.

The Worship of Images not looked upon by the Fathers of Frankfort as an indifferent Thing.

Lastly, The Patrons of Image-worship and of the Council of *Nice* urge the following Words out of the last Chapter of the *Caroline* Books, *we allow Images to be made, but oblige no Man to worship them.* From these Words they conclude, that *Charlemagne*, and consequently the Fathers of *Frankfort*, looked upon the Worship of Images as an indifferent Thing, and only quarrelled with those of *Nice* for commanding that Worship under an Anathema, and thus making it necessary. But first that one Council should think and define a Thing necessary to Salvation, and another think and define it an indifferent Thing, is no trifling Disagreement. 2. An indifferent Thing is what a Man may lawfully do or omit as he pleases; and could *Charlemagne*, after he had laboured throughout his Work to

[f] Vide Spanhem. sect. 7. p. 479. [g] Eginhard. ad ann. 783.

prove the worſhipping of Images a *vain, ſuperſtitious, ſacrilegious,* and *idolatrous* Practice repugnant to the Divine Law, cloſe it with declaring he looked upon that Worſhip as an indifferent Thing? Thus he had undone at once all he had been doing in four Books. As that Paſſage therefore evidently contradicts all the reſt, and beſides is not to be found in the firſt Edition of the Work, we may well ſuppoſe, with the learned *Spanheim* and others, that it has been ſince foiſted in. Year of Chriſt 794.

To conclude; from what has been hitherto ſaid it is, I think, evident beyond all Diſpute, in ſpite of the Cavils, that have been yet urged to the contrary, that the Council condemned by the weſtern Biſhops aſſembled at *Frankfort* was the ſecond Council of *Nice*; that the one Council condemned the very ſame Doctrine, which the other had defined, and conſequently that the Doctrine of Image-worſhip, tho' approved and zealouſly recommended by the Pope, was condemned by a Council, that had as good a Claim, to ſay no more, to the Title of a General Council as that, which defined it. *The Council and Doctrine of* Nice *evidently condemned at* Frankfort.

The Fathers of *Frankfort* thought it adviſeable before they parted to acquaint the Pope with their Proceedings; and they ſent him accordingly their Definition, and with it the *Caroline* Books as containing the Reaſons, why they had condemned the Doctrine of Image-worſhip, and the Council, that had defined it. As *Hadrian* had received that Council, he thought himſelf bound to defend it; and that Task he undertook, addreſſing his Defence or Apology to *Charlemagne*, whom he frequently commends, and treats throughout the Work with the greateſt Regard and Eſteem. He pretends to anſwer one by one the Objections urged by him and the weſtern Biſhops againſt thoſe of *Nice*; but that his Anſwers, far from being ſatisfactory, *contain many Things, that are quite abſurd, many, that are incongruous, and many, that deſerve to be cenſured,* was the Judgment paſſed upon his Apology by the *Gallican* Biſhops in the Council of *Paris*, which I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter; and the learned *Du Pin*, in the Account he gives of that Piece, entirely agrees with them. Hadrian *undertakes to anſwer the* Caroline *Books.*

Hadrian was, it ſeems, under ſome Apprehenſion that from his defending the *Greek* Synod *Charlemagne* ſhould conclude him a Friend to the *Greeks* and the Emperor; and therefore, to remove any Suſpicion of that kind, he took Care to declare in his Preface, that it was not to ſupport the Intereſt of any Perſon whatever, but only *But courts with great Addreſs th Favour of* Charlemagne.

Year of Christ 794. only to maintain the ancient Practice and Tradition of the holy *Roman* Church that he had undertaken the Defence of the *Greek* Synod. He even excuſes to *Charlemagne* his having received it at all, telling him, that as by that Synod the Hereſy of the Iconoclaſts was condemned, the *Greeks* would have relapſed into their Hereſy had he not received the Council, that condemned it; which was, in ſome meaſure, declaring that he received it for what it had condemned rather than for what it had defined. He adds, that tho' he received the Council, he had yet returned no Anſwer to the Letters that had been ſent him ſeven Years ſince from *Conſtantinople* concerning it; that with reſpect to the Article of Images, he was entirely ſatisfied with the Conduct of the Emperor, but had, in other Reſpects, great Reaſon to complain of him, as he ſtill with-held the Patrimonies of St. *Peter*, which his Iconoclaſt Predeceſſors had unjuſtly ſeized; that he would therefore write to him, if his Royal Excellency approved of it, and thank him for what he had done in the Cauſe of Images, but at the ſame Time inſiſt on his reſtoring the Patrimonies, which his Anceſtors had uſurped, and declare him a Heretic, if he did not reſtore them; that is, to gratify *Charlemagne* he was ready to declare the Emperor a Heretic tho' entirely ſatisfied with him as to his Orthodoxy. But he could no more prevail on the King with his Complaiſance than with his Arguments to change his Opinion. *Charlemagne* ſtill continued, and ſo did the weſtern Biſhops, to reject the Doctrine of Image-worſhip with the Council, that had defined it; and neither was received in the Weſt till ſeveral Ages after, as will appear in the Sequel.

Latria now given to Images tho' not allowed by the Council of Nice.

I cannot help obſerving, before I diſmiſs this Subject, that tho' the Fathers of *Nice* declared over and over again that they reſerved *Latria* to God alone, that Images were not to be worſhipped with *Latria*, but with an inferior, relative and ſubordinate Worſhip; it is nevertheleſs now the general Opinion of the Divines of the Church of *Rome*, that Images and the Prototypes, or thoſe, whom they repreſent, are to be worſhipped with the very ſame Worſhip, and conſequently that the Croſs, the Images of the Trinity, (now allowed but formerly forbidden [h]) and thoſe of Chriſt are to be worſhipped with *Latria*, that is with the very ſame ſupreme Divine Worſhip, with which Chriſt himſelf and the Trinity are worſhipped. This Opinion they ground on the Practice of the Church in the Worſhip

[h] See vol. 3. p. 282.

of

of the Croſs (B), owning thereby that the Church adores the Croſs with *Latria*, and concluding from thence, that as the Croſs is adored with *Latria* on account of its Relation to Chriſt, the Images of Chriſt and the Trinity are, on the ſame Account, to be adored with the ſame Adoration. Now if it is not Idolatry to give the ſame ſupreme Divine Worſhip to a Piece of Wood, or a painted Canvas, that we give to God, I ſhould be glad to know the true Meaning of that Word. To ſay, that they only are guilty of Idolatry, who take ſomething to be God that is not God, and worſhip it as ſuch, is clearing from that Guilt all the wiſer Pagans, who did not take their Images for Gods, as has been ſhown[i], and reſtraining it to mere Fools and Idiots, ſince none but mere Fools and Idiots can think, as was obſerved by *Celſus*, that the Wood or Stone of an Image made and governs the World; that an Image made by a Smith or a Carpenter is the Creator of the World, the Maker of the very Man, who made it, and of the very Wood or Metal, of which it was made. Year of Chriſt 794.

Hadrian did not live to ſee what Reception his Anſwer to the *Caroline* Books met with from *Charlemagne* and the weſtern Biſhops. He died ſoon after he had finiſhed it, and his Death happened on the 25th of *December* 795 (C), after he had preſided in the *Roman* See 23 Years, 10 Months, and 17 Days. He was a Man of very uncommon Parts, of great Addreſs, of an extraordinary Diſcernment in Affairs of State, and, in ſhort, an able Politician, but no Divine, if we may judge of his Knowlege in Divinity from his Writings, eſpecially from his Anſwer to the *Caroline* Books, and his Letter to *Conſtantine* and *Irene* concerning the Worſhip of Images[k]; two Pieces, that ſhow him very little converſant in Hiſtory, and leſs converſant in Scripture. As the temporal Grandeur of the Papal See

Hadrian *dies.* Year of Chriſt 795.

His Character.

[i] See vol. 3. p. 215. note B.

[k] See above, p. 79.

(B) Eſpecially in the Service of Good Friday, when the whole Church addreſſes the Croſs thus, *Behold the Wood of the Croſs; come let us adore it*; and their Actions agreeing with their Expreſſions, they all fall down and adore it, praying to it in the moſt expreſs and formal Terms of Prayer: *O Crux ave ſpes unica, hoc paſſionis tempore, piis adauge gratiam, reiſque dona veniam.* In the *Roman* Pontifical, where the Rubric determines the Order of Proceſſion at the Reception of an Emperor, it is ſaid, *the Legate's Croſs ſhall be on the Right Hand, becauſe* Latria *is due to it, and the Emperor's Sword on the Left* (1); ſo that it is the Senſe of the Church, that the Croſs ſhould be worſhipped with *Latria*.

(C) The *French* Annaliſts all place the Death of *Hadrian* on the 25th of *December* 796: But with them Chriſtmas-day was the firſt Day of the new Year.

(1) Pontific. Rom. edit. Rom. p. 672.

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was entirely owing to the Generosity of the *French* Princes and Nation, and wholly depended on the Continuation of their Protection and Favour, *Hadrian* made it his Study, during the whole Time of his long Pontificate, to gain the good Will of that Nation, and of the great Prince, who was then at the Head of it, espousing his Interest with great Zeal, as it was inseparable from his own, against their common Enemies the *Greeks* and the *Lombards*. Thus by his Policy and Address he not only maintained, but considerably extended, as has been related, the temporal Power and Dominion, which his Predecessors had acquired.

His Death greatly lamented by Charlemagne.

His Death was greatly lamented by the *Romans* and the People of *Italy*, but by none so much as by *Charlemagne*, who burst into Tears, when he first heard of it, and weeped, says *Eginhard*, as if he had lost a Brother, or the most beloved of his Children [l]. Not satisfied with the common Tribute of Tears he caused Prayers to be every-where offered up for the Repose of his Soul, distributing great Alms for that Purpose, and sending considerable Presents even to the chief Churches of *England*, not that he entertained the least Doubt of the Happiness of that blessed Soul, as he declared in his Letter to *Offa* at this Time King of *Mercia*, but to show his Faith, and the Sincerity of his Affection and Friendship for one, whom he so tenderly loved [m] (D); nay, to transmit to Posterity a lasting Testimony of

[l] Eginhard. in vit. Carol. [m] Malmes. de gest. Reg. Angl. l. 1. c. 4.

(D) If he entertained not the least Doubt of the Happiness of that blessed Soul, it was not to deliver it out of the Torments of Purgatory that he distributed Alms, and caused Prayers to be offered up. The Custom of praying for the Dead obtained in the Church at least as early as the Time of *Tertullian*; for he, I think, is the first who speaks of it (1). After him it is particularly mentioned by *Cyprian* (2), *Arnobius* (3), the Author upon *Job* under the Name of *Origen* (4), by *Origen* himself (5), by *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* (6), by *Epiphanius* (7), and, I may say, by all the ancient Fathers. But that such a Custom was not grounded on the Belief of Purgatory, as if the Souls, for which they prayed, were detained and tormented there for the Sins they had not expiated in their Life-time, is manifest from their praying for the most holy Men and the greatest Saints, for the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apostles, the Martyrs, the Confessors (8): Nay, it appears from the ancient Liturgies ascribed to *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Gregory Nazianzen* and *Cyril*, that they prayed for the Virgin *Mary* herself (9), whom no Papist will allow to have ever

(1) Tertull. de Coron. Milit. c. 3. & de Monogam. c. 10. (2) Cyprian, ep. 37. vel 22. ad Cler. ep. 34. vel 39. & 66. vel 1. (3) Arnob. l. 4. p. 181. (4) Orig. in Job. (5) Orig. in Roman. l. 9. t. 2. (6) Cyril Catech. Myst. 5. n. 6. (7) Epiphan. hæres. 75. (8) Idem ibid. (9) Apud Usher. *Answer to the Challenge*, p. 138. & Dallæum de Pænis & Satisfac. l. 5. c. 8.

touched

of that ſincere Affection and Friendſhip, he wrote his Epitaph himſelf, ſetting forth, in Elegiac Verſe, all the good Qualities with all the great Works of his deceaſed Friend (E). That Epitaph he cauſed

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Who writes his Epitaph, and ſends it to Rome.

touched at Purgatory. In the *Greek* Liturgy of *Chryſoſtom* it is ſaid; *we offer unto thee this reaſonable Service for the faithful deceaſed, our Fore-fathers, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Martyrs, Confeſſors, religious Perſons, and every Spirit perfected in the Faith; but eſpecially for our moſt holy, immaculate, moſt bleſſed Lady, the Mother of God, and ever Virgin* Mary (1). We muſt therefore either allow that praying for the Dead does not infer Purgatory, or that the greateſt Saints, the Prophets, the Apoſtles, the Martyrs, nay and the Virgin *Mary* herſelf, went all firſt to Purgatory, or at leaſt were ſuppoſed by the Church to be in Purgatory, ſince ſhe prayed indifferently for them all.

As for the Grounds and Reaſons of that ancient Practice, they were various according to various Opinions, that obtained in thoſe Days. Many of the Fathers were of Opinion, as is well known, that the Souls of all the Juſt, except the Martyrs, were detained in ſome Place inviſible to mortal Eye, which they called *Hades*, *Paradiſe*, *Abraham's Boſom*, where they were happy, but expected a more complete Happineſs at the End of all Things. They, who held this Opinion, may be ſuppoſed, in praying for the Dead, to have prayed that the Souls of the Juſt, thus ſequeſtered for a Time, might at laſt be admitted to perfect Happineſs in Heaven. Others thought, that by the Prayers of the Church the Glory of the Saints was encreaſed, and the Pains of the Damned, in ſome Degree, mitigated and leſſened. *The Prayers of the Church*, ſays St. *Auſtin*, *ſerve to render the Damnation of the Wicked more tolerable* (2). Of the ſame Opinion were *Prudentius* (3), *Paulinus* (4), the Author of the Queſtions to *Antiochus* under the Name of *Athanaſius* (5), and *Chryſoſtom* (6), who adviſes Men to pray for the Dead, becauſe it would bring ſome Comfort to them, tho' but little, and tho' none at all, yet it would be accepted by God, as a pleaſing Sacrifice from thoſe, who offered it. Many other Reaſons occur in the Ancients, on which they grounded the Practice of the Church in praying for departed Souls; they prayed that God would receive them to himſelf; that he would deal with them according to his Mercy, and not in ſtrict Juſtice according to their Merits; that as the Soul is but in an imperfect State of Happineſs till the Reſurrection, the Juſt might riſe the laſt Day to an endleſs State of conſummate Happineſs; that thus they manifeſted their Faith of a future Reſurrection, and in the mean Time maintained a kind of Communion between the Members of Chriſt yet alive, and thoſe, that were departed only, and not loſt by Death (7). There is not among the many Reaſons, alleged by the Fathers to juſtify the Practice of the Church in praying for the Dead, the leaſt Intimation, or diſtant Hint of Purgatory, or of a Place, where the departed Souls are confined and tormented, till they have paid the utmoſt Farthing, or are prayed out of thoſe inexpreſſible Torments by their Friends. And who can believe, that if ſuch a Doctrine had then been known, the Fathers would have all forgot to allege it as a Reaſon of their praying for the Dead? It would certainly have better juſtified the Practice of the Church than any Reaſon they alleged.

(E) Among the other Verſes are the following more tender than elegant.

Poſt Patrem lacrymans Carolus hæc carmina ſcripſi;
Tu mihi dulcis amor, te modo plango, Pater.
Nomina jungo ſimul titulis, clariſſime, noſtra,
Hadrianus, Carolus, Rex ego, tuque Pater.

(1) Chryſoſt. Liturg. t. 4. p. 614. (2) Aug. Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. 110. (3) Pruden. Cathem. car. 5. de Cereo Paſcal. (4) Paulin. ep. 19. (5) Athanaſ. quæſt. ad Antioch. quæſt. 34. (6) Chryſ. hom. 3. in Phil. hom. 21. in Act. & hom. 32. in Math. (7) See Bingham *Antiquit. of the Chriſtian Church*, l. 15. c. 3. ſect. 15, 16.

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to be engraved in gold Letters upon Marble, and ſent it to *Rome* to be there ſet up at his Tomb in the Vatican; and to this Day it is to be ſeen at the Door of that Church. To the Epitaph were added in Proſe the Time of his Pontificate, and the Day of his Death in the following Words; *Pope* Hadrian *of bleſſed Memory ſat* 23 *Years,* 10 *Months, and* 17 *Days, and died on the 7th of the Kalends of January*, that is, on the 26th of *December*; where he is ſaid to have died on the Day, on which he was buried. For that he died on Chriſtmas-day, and conſequently on the 25th, and not the 26th of *December*, is atteſted by all the Hiſtorians of thoſe Times. But as Men were then commonly buried the very Day they died (and ſo was *Charlemagne* himſelf) the Day, on which they were buried, is often called the Day of their Death, tho' they happened to be buried one or two Days after their Death; and their Exequies were ſcarce ever put off any longer, unleſs ſomething intervened to prevent them [n].

His public Works.

What we read in *Anaſtaſius* of the Generoſity of *Hadrian* to the Poor, of his Magnificence in repairing and embelliſhing the Churches and Cemeteries of *Rome*, in rebuilding the Walls, and reſtoring the ancient Aqueducts of that City, far exceeds any Thing we read not only of his Predeceſſors, but of the greateſt Princes of thoſe Times. There was ſcarce a Church, a Monaſtery, or an Oratory in *Rome*, that did not partake of his Generoſity. On the Ornaments of the *Vatican* Baſilic alone he is ſaid to have employed 2580 Pounds Weight of Gold, beſides an immenſe Quantity of Silver and precious Stones of all Sorts. Among the other Preſents or Offerings he made to that Church was a Chandelier of wonderful Workmanſhip capable of holding 1370 Candles. It hung before the Chancel; and *Hadrian* appointed it to be lighted four Times a Year, *viz.* on the Feſtivals of Chriſtmas, of Eaſter, of the holy Apoſtles, and on the Day of the *Roman* Pontiff's Ordination. He expended, in repairing the ruinous Walls of the City, 1100 Pounds Weight of Gold, and larger Sums on the Aqueducts and other public Ornaments or neceſſary Works; inſomuch that *Rome* is ſaid to have, in great meaſure, recovered under him its ancient Luſtre and Grandeur [o]. It was the Generoſity of *Charlemagne* that enabled *Hadrian* to perform ſuch extraordinary Works. For *Eginhard* tells us, that on the Church of St. *Peter Charlemagne* heaped, to uſe his Expreſſion, immenſe

He enriches the Churches of Rome.

[n] Vide Pagi Critic. Bar. ad ann. 795. n. 1.

[o] Anaſt. in Hadrian.

Quantities

Quantities of Gold, of Silver, of precious Stones, and made rich Presents to the Popes without Number, having nothing so much at Heart as to see the City of *Rome* restored, by his Means, to its ancient Authority, and the Church of St. *Peter* enriched with his Wealth above all other Churches[p]. This Wealth was the Plunder of the different Nations *Charlemagne* had conquered, especially of the *Saxons* and the wealthy Nation of the *Huns*, whom he almost entirely rooted out; and it was perhaps to atone for his Cruelty and Injustice that he thus shared the Booty with St. *Peter* and the Pope. Year of Christ 795.

Hadrian wrote a great Number of Letters to different Persons, and on different Subjects, which have been carefully collected by *Ludovicus Jacob* in his *Bibliotheca Pontificia*; and to him I refer the Reader. *Wrote numberless Letters.*

In the Time of *Hadrian*, *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, having treacherously murdered *Ethelbert*, King of the *East Angles*, undertook a Pilgrimage to *Rome* to atone for that Crime, and at the same Time to obtain of the Pope a Confirmation of the Privileges he had granted to the Monastery of St. *Alban*, which he had built and richly endowed upon the pretended miraculous Discovery of the Body of that Saint, after it had lain concealed 500 Years and upwards. The Pope received the King with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem, applauded his Devotion to the Protomartyr of his Kingdom, and readily confirmed all the Privileges, Immunities and Exemptions he had granted to the new-founded Monastery[q]. That he did not, as is pretended, during his Stay at *Rome*, make his Kingdom tributary to the Pope and St. *Peter*, has been shown elsewhere[r].

CONSTANTINE, IRENE, NICEPHORUS, MICHAEL RHANGABE.

LEO III.

Emperors of the West, CHARLEMAGNE, LEWIS THE DEBONAIRE.

Ninety-fifth BISHOP *of* Rome.

IN the Room of *Hadrian* was raised to the See *Leo* the third of that Name, Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of one *Azuppius*. He was chosen, with one Consent, by the Nobility, the Clergy, and the People the Day after the Death *Leo III. chosen.*

[p] Eginhard. in vit. Carol. Magn. p. 26. [q] Westmonast. ad ann. 794. & M. Paris. in vit. Offa. [r] Vol. 3. p. 194, 195.

of

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of *Hadrian*, the 26th of *December*, and ordained the next Day[s], which in 795. fell on a Sunday.

Acquaints Charlemagne *with his Promotion.*

Leo was no sooner ordained than he wrote to *Charlemagne* to acquaint him with his Promotion, sending him at the same Time the Keys of the Confession or Tomb of St. *Peter*, the Standard of the City of *Rome*, with several other Presents, and desiring him to appoint some Lord of his Court to repair to *Rome* in order to receive of the *Roman* People, in his Name, their Oath of Allegiance[t]. Upon the Receipt of this Letter *Charlemagne* dispatched the Abbot *Angilbert*, one of his chief Favourites, with a Letter to the new Pope, wherein he expressed great Satisfaction at his being raised, with the Approbation of all, to the Pontifical Dignity, as well as at his assuring him of his Obedience and Fidelity. In the same Letter he exhorted his Holiness to edify the Church by his good Example and a

To whom the Romans *swear Allegiance.*

strict Observance of the Canons, assuring him, that on his Side, he was resolved to execute the Treaties he had made with his Predecessor, to entertain a strict Union with him, and ever to defend as *Roman Patrician*, the holy Catholic Church and the Apostolic See of St. *Peter*[u]. From these Letters we may, I think, well conclude with *De Marca*, that the *Roman* People acknowleged *Charlemagne* for their liege Lord and Sovereign; nay that the Pope himself owned him for his liege Lord as well as they, since he promised him Obedience and Fidelity, and consequently that tho' the Pope received the Revenues, tho' he appointed the Magistrates, the Judges, and other Officers in *Rome* and the other Cities yielded by the Kings of *France* to the Apostolic See, the Sovereignty or supreme Power was nevertheless lodged in those Princes. It is certain at least, that they exercised a sovereign Power in *Rome*, that they called *Rome* their City, that the People of *Rome* stiled them their Lords, *Domini nostri*, and that the Popes themselves acted on all Occasions as depending upon them. As the Keys of Heaven were supposed to be kept by St. *Peter*, who was therefore stiled the Door-keeper of Heaven, and the Key-bearing Apostle, *Claviger*, Keys were made of

The Custom of sending Keys to Princes.

Gold, of Silver, or other Metal, and being laid on the Tomb of St. *Peter*, were sent from thence to all Princes indifferently, who had in any Manner well deserved of the Church. But the Standard of *Rome* was sent only to the *Roman* Patricians, or to those, who

[s] Anast. in Leon. III. [t] Eginhard. Annal. ad ann. 796. [u] Epist. Carol. Leon. inter Epist. Alcuin. ep. 84.

were

were to defend the Church againſt Schiſmatics, Heretics, and Infidels. Thus was it ſent by *Stephen* II. to *Pepin*, by *Gregory* III. to *Charles Martel*, by *Hadrian* to *Charlemagne*, and by the ſucceeding Popes to ſuch Princes as engaged, or were to engage in War with the Enemies of the Church. Year of Chriſt 796.

Charlemagne ſent to the new Pope, together with his Letter, moſt magnificent Preſents, the Spoils of the *Huns*, whoſe rich Metropolis, named *Ringa*, *Henry*, Duke of *Friuli*, had lately taken and plundered. As the Duke was ſent againſt them by *Charlemagne*, whoſe Vaſſal he was, to him he delivered up the whole Treaſure; and *Charlemagne*, reſerving nothing for himſelf, diſtributed Part of it amongſt his Officers and thoſe of his Court, but ſent the far greater Share to the Pope. The Preſent was deſigned for *Hadrian*; but the King, hearing at the ſame Time of his Death, and of the Promotion of *Leo*, ſent it to the new Pope to be employed by him in repairing and adorning the Churches of *Rome*, eſpecially that of St. *Peter*[w]. And thus, to do *Leo* Juſtice, it was by him employed as ſoon as he received it. For he cauſed a Cenſer of Gold to be made for the Church of St. *Peter* weighing 17 Pounds, covered the Shrine of the Apoſtle with Plate of Gold, weighing 49 Pounds and enriched with a great Number of precious Stones, added to ſeveral other leſs conſiderable Ornaments three Crowns of Silver weighing 307 Pounds, repaired the Roof, and rebuilt the Porches quite gone to Decay. In like manner he rebuilt or repaired 20 other Churches, and enriched moſt of them with Ornaments and Utenſils of great Value. To the Church of St. *Mary ad Præſepe* he gave a Ciborium of Silver, that is, the Veſſel, in which the Sacrament was kept, weighing 600 Pounds, and three Crowns of Silver weighing 155, to the Church of St. *Laurence* without the Walls three Statues of Silver weighing 54 Pounds, and to that of St. *Suſanna*, where he was ordained, ſacred Utenſils of all Kinds, enriching it beſides with Pictures, with Statues, with precious Stones, with Croſſes, ſome of Gold, ſome of Silver, and other Ornaments without Number; ſo that it became at once one of the richeſt and moſt magnificent Churches in *Rome*. *Leo*, having thus with the Treaſure ſent him by *Charlemagne* renewed, embelliſhed, and enriched moſt of the Churches of *Rome*, employed the remaining Part of that Treaſure in building a moſt magnificent Hall, or Banqueting-room, *Triclinium*

Immenſe Treaſures ſent by Charlemagne *to* Rome.

How employed by the Pope.

[w] Eginhard. in Annal.

Year of Christ 796.

His Triclinium *in the* Lateran *Palace.*

nium in the *Lateran* Palace, called from him *Aula Leonina* and *Basilica Leonina*. It far exceeded in Grandeur and Ornaments all the other Buildings of *Rome*. *Anastasius* takes particular Notice of the Pillars of Porphyry most curiously wrought, of the many Vases all of the most scarce and valuable Marble, of the Walls covered from Top to Bottom with Marble of different Colours and Kinds, and of several Representations in Mosaic Work of an elegant Taste. Of these one is to be seen to this Day, in which St. *Peter* is represented sitting with three Keys lying on his Knees. On his Right Hand is *Leo*, and *Charlemagne* on his Left, both kneeling. To *Leo* he gives with his Right a Pall, and with his Left the Standard to *Charlemagne*. Over *Leo* are these Words in *Latin*, *our most holy Lord Pope* Leo, and the following over *Charles*, *to our Lord King* Charles, with these under both, *St.* Peter *grant Life to Pope* Leo, *and Victory to King* Charles. This Representation was, no doubt, designed by the Pope as a Memorial for After-ages of his sending the Standard to *Charlemagne*, and his thereby acknowleging him *Roman* Patrician, and Protector of the City of *Rome* and the Church. Thus did *Leo* employ the first Year of his Pontificate; for these great Works are related by *Anastasius* as begun soon after his Election and completed in one Year's Time[x].

The See of Canterbury *restored by* Leo *to its ancient Jurisdiction.*

Year of Christ 797.

The same Year 796. *Renulph*, King of *Mercia*, hearing of the Death of *Hadrian*, and the Promotion of *Leo*, dispatched to *Rome* an Abbot named *Wada* to congratulate the new Pope on his Election, and at the same Time to propose to him the restoring of the See of *Canterbury* to its ancient Jurisdiction. For *Offa*, late King of *Mercia*, being highly provoked against the People of *Canterbury*, and thinking it besides inconsistent with the Dignity of his Crown, that the Bishops of his Kingdom should acknowlege the Bishop of any other for their Metropolitan, had obliged them to withdraw their Obedience to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and own the Bishop of *Lichfield*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, for their Metropolitan; nay he had even obtained of Pope *Hadrian* a Pall for his new Archbishop. Thus the Bishops of *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Leicester* and *Sydnacester* in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and the Bishops of *Helmansted* and *Dunmoc* in the Kingdom of the East *Angles*, which *Offa* had annexed to his Crown, became Suffragans to the Archbishop of *Lichfield*. But as this occasioned a Misunderstanding

[x] Anast. in Leon. III.

among the *Engliſh* Prelates, which *Kenulph* apprehended might end in a Schiſm, he wrote this Year to the Pope, ſoon after his Acceſſion to the Crown by the above-mentioned Abbot, the following Year by others, and laſtly by *Athelard* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, entreating his Holineſs to ſuggeſt to him what he thought moſt proper to be done on the preſent Occaſion; but at the ſame Time telling him, that as *Auſtin* of bleſſed Memory had firſt preached the Goſpel to the *Saxons* in *England*, as he died at *Canterbury*, and his Body lay there, that City had, with the Approbation of all, been diſtinguiſhed with the metropolitical Dignity; that King *Offa* being at Enmity with the People of *Canterbury*, and the venerable *Lambert* then Archbiſhop of that City, had curtailed the Juriſdiction of that See, and divided the Dioceſe into two; that Pope *Hadrian* had, at the Requeſt of the King, granted a Pall, a Grant quite unprecedented, to the Biſhop of the *Mercians*; that he indeed blamed neither believing both now reigned in Heaven with Chriſt and his Saints, but only entreated his Holineſs to examine impartially the Letter, which *Athelard* had written to him in an Aſſembly of his Brethren concerning the Diviſion of his Dioceſe[y]. The King's Letter is filled with Expreſſions of the higheſt Eſteem and greateſt Reſpect for the Pope; was written in the Name of all the Biſhops and Nobility of his Kingdom as well as in his own, and accompanied with a Preſent of 120 Mancuſas, a Coin about a Mark in Value. With this Letter was diſpatched to *Rome Athelard* himſelf, who prevailed in the End upon the Pope, as he was a Man of great Addreſs and uncommon Abilities, to reſtore the See of *Canterbury* to its ancient Juriſdiction. The Pope's Letter in Favour of *Athelard* and his See is dated the 15th of the Kalends of *February*, or the 18th of *January*, in the ſecond Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Charles*, and in the 10th Indiction[z], that is in the Year of Chriſt 802, thoſe chronological Marks anſwering that and no other Year. The learned Collector therefore of the *Engliſh* Councils was certainly miſtaken in making *Adulph*, Archbiſhop of *Lichfield*, ſign, as a private Biſhop, the Council of *Bacanceld*, held, according to him, in 798[a], ſince he was not reduced to that Condition till four Years after, when the Juriſdiction of the See of *Canterbury* was again extended to all the Churches of *England*.

Year of Chriſt 796.

[y] Concil. t. 7. p. 1109. De Geſt. Angl. continuat. l. 1. c. 12. & apud Bar. ad ann. 795. [z] Malmeſ. de Pontif. p. 210. [a] Concil. Brit. vol. 1. p. 317.

Year of Christ 796.

Year of Christ 799.

In the latter End of the Year 798, or more probably in the Beginning of the Year 799, *Leo* assembled a Council in the Church of St. *Peter* at *Rome* on the following Occasion. *Felix* of *Urgel*, notwithstanding he had renounced his Opinion concerning the Adoption of Christ first in the Assembly of *Ratisbon*, and afterwards in the Presence of Pope *Hadrian* at *Rome*[b], and had been condemned by all the western Bishops in the Council of *Frankfort*, had, at the Persuasion of *Elipand* of *Toledo*, retracted his former Retractations, and begun anew to preach the same Doctrine. Hereupon *Charlemagne*, unwilling to recur to Violence till all other Means had proved ineffectual, charged *Alcuin*, the most learned Man of his Time, to write both to *Felix* and *Elipand*, and try to convince them of their Error. *Alcuin* wrote accordingly; but his Letter was answered by *Felix*, not with the Brevity of an Epistle, to use his Expression, but with the Prolixity of a Book, calculated to establish his former Opinion, as entirely agreeable to the Doctrine of the Scriptures and the Fathers. His Book or Epistle as well as *Alcuin*'s Letter, which had given Occasion to it, and a Treatise against the *Adoptionarians* consisting of three Books, which *Paulinus*, Patriarch of *Aquilea* had lately published, were, at the Desire of *Alcuin*, sent by *Charlemagne* to *Rome* to be examined there by the Pope in a Council. A Council was accordingly convened by *Leo* in the *Vatican*, and the Letter of *Felix* being read and examined, the Doctrine it contained was condemned by the Pope and the 57 Bishops, who composed that Assembly, as heretical and blasphemous, and *Felix* anathematized, if he did not sincerely repent, and retract it.

Felix *appeals to* Charlemagne.

The Acts of the Council were immediately transmitted to *Charlemagne*, who thereupon ordered *Leidrate* of *Lions*, *Nefrid* of *Narbonne*, with several other Bishops, Abbots, and some of the most learned Men of his Clergy, to repair to *Urgel*, to hold a Council there, and summoning *Felix* to appear at it, acquaint him with the Sentence lately pronounced at *Rome* against him, and depose him, if he obstinately persisted in his Error. The Bishops, arriving at *Urgel*, acquainted *Felix* with the Judgment given by the Pope and his Council, as well as with the Order they had received from the King, threatening to put the one and the other, without Delay, in Execution, if he did not, in their Presence, own his Error, and publicly abjure it. *Felix* begged he might be first conducted to the

[b] See above, p. 127.

King,

King, not doubting, he ſaid, but that he ſhould appeaſe his Wrath, and entirely ſatisfy him however prejudiced againſt him by the Miſrepreſentations of his Enemies. The Biſhops granted him his Requeſt; and being ſent to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where *Charlemagne* then was, he begged he might be heard once more, and allowed to allege in his Preſence, and in the Preſence of ſuch Biſhops and Men of Learning, as he ſhould think fit to name, what he had to offer in Favour of his Opinion, aſſuring him, that Truth was the only Object he had in his View, and that, if they could but convince him of the Truth, he would that Moment own and embrace it. Year of Chriſt 799.

Felix had already thrice renounced his Opinion, and as often embraced it anew. *Charlemagne*, truſting to his repeated Proteſtations, and aſcribing his Obſtinacy chiefly to Ignorance, reſolved to comply once more with his Requeſt. He therefore aſſembled the neighbouring Biſhops, and at the ſame Time ordered *Alcuin*, of whoſe Integrity, Knowlege and Learning he entertained, and very deſervedly, the higheſt Opinion, to repair to *Aix*, and attend the Council, which, at the Requeſt of *Felix* he had appointed to meet in that City. The Biſhops met in the royal Palace, and the Point in Diſpute, *viz. whether Chriſt, as Man, was the Son of God by Nature, or only by Adoption*, being argued for five whole Days by *Felix* and *Alcuin*, in the Preſence of the Biſhops, of the King, and all the great Officers of State, and Paſſages without Number quoted on both Sides from the Fathers and Councils, *Felix* yielded in the End, acknowleged his Error, abjured it the fourth Time, and, to convince the World of the Sincerity of his Converſion, publiſhed a Confeſſion of his Faith, declaring therein that his other Retractations were all only pretended, but that this was, as he ſhould anſwer it the laſt Day, unfeigned and ſincere, being owing to no other Force but that of Truth and Conviction. This Confeſſion of Faith he addreſſed to the Clergy of his Dioceſe, exhorting ſuch of them, as he had by his Authority or his Writings wickedly ſeduced and led aſtray, to follow his Example, and return, together with him, to the Unity of the Church[c]. *And convinced by* Alcuin *of his Error renounces it the fourth Time.*

But this Converſion either was not more ſincere than the three other, or he afterwards changed his Mind, and was thereupon depoſed and baniſhed to *Lions*, where he died while *Agobard* was Biſhop of that City, leaving a Writing behind him, wherein he en- *But embraces it anew and dies in that Perſuaſion.*

[c] Alcuin. adverſ. Elipand. l. 1. Confeſſ. fidei Felic. apud Alcuin. p. 998. Anonym. in vit. Alcuin.

Year of Christ 799.

deavoured by way of Queſtion and Anſwer to eſtabliſh the Opinion, which he had ſo often, and ſo ſolemnly abjured. That Writing *Agobard* undertook to confute with the Teſtimonies of the Fathers[d], for both Parties pretended to have the Fathers plainly on their Side. But the Authority of the King was with many of far greater Weight than that of the Fathers; and it was more by his Authority than by the Authority of the Fathers, that the Sect of the *Adoptionarians* was, in the Courſe of a few Years, utterly ſuppreſſed. *Felix* was a Man of an unblemiſhed Character, and generally looked upon as a Saint till he forfeited the good Opinion the World entertained of him by obſtinately adhering to his own Opinion, and refuſing to ſubmit his Judgment to that of the Church. *Alcuin* himſelf ſpeaks of him as a Man of Learning[e]: But with all his Learning he could never comprehend how Chriſt, as Man, could be, or be called the Son of God by Nature. As for *Elipand* of *Toledo*, he is ſaid to have acknowleged his Error at laſt, and ſincerely abjured it[f]. His Converſion, and that of moſt of his Followers was chiefly owing to the Zeal and Labours of *Alcuin*, who wrote, at the Requeſt of *Charlemagne*, firſt ſeven Books againſt the *Adoptionarians* addreſſed to *Felix*, and afterwards four addreſſed to *Elipand*.

His Character.

The two Nephews of the late Pope conſpire againſt Leo.

Peace was thus reſtored to the Churches of *Spain*; but that of *Rome* was in the mean Time diſturbed by an unheard of Attempt. *Hadrian* had raiſed his two Nephews *Paſchalis* and *Campulus* to the two chief Employments in the Church (and this is the firſt Inſtance of Nepotiſm that occurs in the Hiſtory of the Popes) and they ruled, during his Pontificate, with an abſolute Sway. That extravagant Power, which they probably uſed no better than moſt of the Popes Nephews have done ſince their Time, *Leo* undertook to controll, tho' it is not to be doubted but that the Unanimity, with which he was choſen the very Day after the Deceaſe of his Predeceſſor, was owing chiefly to them, who were, in a manner Maſters of the Suffrages of the People as well as the Clergy. They had flattered themſelves that *Leo* would, out of Gratitude, allow them to enjoy the ſame unlimited Power under him they had enjoyed under their Uncle, nay that he would himſelf be governed entirely by their Councils. Being thus diſappointed, and provoked beyond meaſure at their Diſappointment, they formed the wicked Deſign of murder-

[d] Agobard. lib. contra Fel. Ado. in Chron. [e] Alcuin. ep. 15. ad Carol.
[f] Tamayus in Catalog. Epiſcop. Toletan.

ing

ing *Leo*, and getting another choſen in his Room, who ſhould better acknowlege his Obligations to them. They choſe for the Execution of their Deſign the 25th of *April*, the Day of a ſolemn Proceſſion, at which the Popes uſed annually to aſſiſt. As *Leo* was therefore repairing that Day from the *Lateran* Palace to the Place, where the Proceſſion was to begin, *Paſchalis* met him on his Way, but not in an Attire proper for the Occaſion, which he excuſed, pretending to be indiſpoſed, and not in a Condition to attend the Proceſſion. Soon after came *Campulus*, and both attended the Pope, the one on the one Hand, and the other on the other, entertaining and diverting him till they came to the Monaſtery of St. *Stephen* and St. *Silveſter*, where a great Number of armed Men, ruſhing out with a hideous Noiſe from the neighbouring Houſes, ſurrounded the Pope, and after beating him till they thought him ready to expire, held him wallowing in his Blood on the Ground, while *Paſchalis* and *Campulus* endeavoured to put out his Eyes, and pluck out his Tongue. The Conſpirators ſpared his Life, being moved to Compaſſion, as we are told, in ſeeing him reduced to ſo miſerable a Condition; but ſhut him up in the Monaſtery mentioned above, and from thence conveyed him in the Dead of the Night, leſt his Friends ſhould attempt his Reſcue, to the Monaſtery of St. *Eraſmus*, where they kept him cloſely confined. But his firſt Chamberlain *Albin*, having gained the Abbot of that Monaſtery, privately conveyed him, with the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, over the Walls of the City to the *Vatican*, where he was received and entertained with the greateſt Humanity by the Abbot *Wirad*, who reſided there with the Character of Envoy from *Charlemagne*. In the mean Time *Winigiſus*, Duke of *Spoleti*, informed of what had happened, haſtened to *Rome* at the Head of his Army, and delivering the Pope out of all Danger, carried him, in a kind of Triumph, to his own Dominions.

Year of Chriſt 799.

Seize him and uſe him with great Barbarity.

Is reſcued by the Duke of Spoleti.

That *Leo*'s Tongue and Eyes were really pulled out, and miraculouſly reſtored to him, as he afterwards both ſpoke and ſaw, is aſſerted not only by *Anaſtaſius*, who lived ſome Time after, but by ſeveral Writers, who lived at that very Time, and by *Alcuin* among the reſt (F), in whoſe Authority *Pagi* would have us to acquieſce as quite

His Eyes and Tongue falſly ſaid to have been pulled out and miraculouſly reſtored.

(F) Of this Miracle *Alcuin* ſpeaks thus in a Poem he wrote on the Journey, which, after this Attempt, *Leo* undertook into *Germany*, to acquaint *Charlemagne* with it by word of Mouth. *Leo*, ſays he, at their firſt meeting,

Verbera

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quite decisive g. But neither did *Alcuin*, nor indeed any of the Writers quoted by *Pagi*, ever see, or tell us they ever saw the Pope without his Tongue and his Eyes: So that it was only by Report they knew that both were pulled out; and therefore their Authority can by no means be admitted as decisive, no more than the Report, upon which it was grounded. They believed it indeed; but in that credulous Age Miracles were become common, and as commonly believed even by Men, in other Respects, of the greatest Sagacity, as any daily Event or Occurrence of Life. Of this Miracle *Leo* himself takes no kind of Notice; and who can believe that had so stupendous a Miracle been wrought in his Favour, he would not have urged it as an incontestable Proof of his Innocence against the Aspersions of his Enemies charging him with many enormous Crimes, and pretending it was their Zeal for the Honour of the See of St. *Peter* that prompted them to attempt on his Life?

Repairs to Charlemagne.

From *Spoleti* the Pope wrote to *Charlemagne* to acquaint him with the Attempt, that had been made on his Life, and the cruel Treatment he had met with; and soon after set out for *France* to implore the Protection of the King against the inveterate Hatred of his Enemies, whom nothing less would satisfy than his utter Ruin and Destruction. But being informed, on his Journey, that the King was then encamped at *Paderborne*, he repaired thither, and was met, as he approached the Place, first by *Hildivald*, the King's Chaplain, afterwards by *Pepin*, King of *Italy*, and lastly by *Charlemagne* himself, who received him, both bursting into Tears at their first meeting, with all possible Marks of Respect, Veneration, and Friendship. During his Stay at *Paderborne*, he gave the King a minute Account of the Conspiracy, that had been formed against him, of the wicked Designs of his Enemies, and the barbarous Treatment he had met with at their Hands. The King assured him of his Protection; but being then upon the Point of entering *Saxony*, (and this was the

How received by him.

g Pagi Gest. Pont. Rom. vol. 2. p. 7.

Verbera commemorans, extinctum lumine vultum
Narrat, & abscissam liquido de gutture linguam:
Nunc medicante Deo sanatum & ab omnibus istis
Esse malis, &c.

Exquirit Carolus casus, auditque laborum
Diversos, sceleris populi impia facta stupescit:
Miratur geminas jamdudum luce fenestras
Extinctas, & nunc reparatum lumine vultum,
Truncatamque loqui miratur forcipe linguam;
Alter in alterius configunt lumina vultus.

And a few Lines after

MUSEUM BRITANNICUM

28th

28th Year of the *Saxon* War) he adviſed him for the preſent to return to *Rome*, appointing ſeveral Biſhops, and ſome of the chief Lords of his Court to attend him on his Journey, and protect him againſt any further Attempts of his Enemies. *Leo*, thus attended, ſet out from *Paderborne*, was received and entertained in all the Cities, through which he paſſed, as St. *Peter* himſelf, and being met, as he approached *Rome*, by the whole Clergy, the Senate, the Militia, and all the *Roman* Nobility, he was conducted by them amidſt the loud Acclamations of the People to the *Vatican*, where he performed Divine Service with great Solemnity, all, who were preſent, receiving the Sacrament at his Hands. The next Day, the 29th of *November*, he entered the City, and took Poſſeſſion anew of the *Lateran* Palace [h].

Year of Chriſt 799.

Returns to Rome *and is well received by the* Romans.

Some Days after the Biſhops and Lords, who had attended him from *France*, aſſembling in the great Hall, which *Leo* had built in the *Lateran* Palace, ſummoned the Conſpirators, and all, who had any Thing to lay to the Charge of *Leo*, to appear before them, being commiſſioned by the King to hear their Complaints, and do them Juſtice, if any-ways injured by the Pope or his Miniſters. Some appeared, and among the reſt *Paſchalis* and *Campulus*, charging the Pope with ſeveral Crimes, which Hiſtorians have not thought fit to ſpecify; but not being able to make good their Charge, the Commiſſioners, fully ſatisfied of the Innocence of the Pope, and the Malice of his Enemies, after they had ſpent a whole Week and more in hearing and carefully examining every Complaint that was brought againſt him, ordered the two chief Conſpirators, *Paſchalis* and *Campulus* to be ſeized, and ſent them to Priſon [i].

His Trial.

The chief Conſpirators ſeized and impriſoned.

In the mean Time *Charlemagne*, having quieted the *Saxons* for the preſent, and held a General Diet of the States at *Maience*, ſet out from thence, at the Requeſt of the Pope, with the Flower of his Army for *Italy*. Being arrived at *Ancona*, he detached his Son *Pepin* with the greater Part of the Army againſt *Grimoald*, Duke of *Benevento*, who, as he was informed, had privately entered into an Alliance with the *Greeks*, and marched himſelf with the reſt towards *Rome*. The Pope, attended by his Clergy and the *Roman* Nobility, met him at *Nomentum* in *Sabina* about twelve Miles from *Rome*, dined with him there, and having, in a private Conference, informed

Charlemagne *ſets out for* Italy.

Year of Chriſt 800.

[h] Anaſt. in Leon. III. Eginhard. ad ann. 799. Anonymus Lambec. [i] Anaſt. ibid.

him

Year of Christ 800. him of the present Situation of Affairs in the City, returned the same Day to the *Lateran*. The next Day, the 24th of *November*, the King advanced with his Army to *Rome*, and dismounting from his Horse at the *Vatican*, was received by the Pope, who there waited his Arrival with all the *Roman* Clergy, and introduced by him into the Church, the Clergy singing, as he entered the Basilic, Hymns of Thanksgiving for his safe Arrival, which were ecchoed on all Sides with repeated Shouts of Joy by the People. He spent seven whole Days in acquainting himself with the State of *Rome* as well as with the Situation of Affairs in *Italy*, in examining every Circumstance of the Attempt, that had been made on the Life of the Pope, and receiving daily new Informations concerning that Attempt. Having thus heard all the Conspirators could allege against the Pope, or plead in their own Defence, he appointed all the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots then in *Rome*, the whole Body of the *Roman* Clergy, and all the *Roman* Nobility, as well as the great Officers of State, who attended him, to assemble in the Church of St. *Peter*; and there sitting on the same Throne with the Pope, told the Assembly; that the wicked Attempt made on the Life of his Holiness, and the unheard of Cruelty of his Enemies had filled him with Horror; that it was chiefly to inform himself thoroughly of so horrid and unprecedented an Attempt that he was come into *Italy*; that the Conspirators, to lessen their own Guilt, charged the Pope with many most heinous Crimes, but whether justly or unjustly it was incumbent upon them to enquire, since it was for that Purpose he had called them together. At these Words the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots *cried out*, says *Anastasius*, *all with one Voice*; *we dare not judge the Apostolic See, the Head of all Churches: By that See and its Vicar we are all judged, and they by none.* Hereupon *Leo*, addressing the Assembly, told them, that for their Satisfaction he was willing to justify himself, and would the next Day, in the Manner his Predecessors had chosen to justify themselves on the like Occasion. The Assembly therefore being met the next Day in the same Place, the Pope, holding the book of the Gospels in his Hand, took, in the Presence of all, the following Oath; *so may I, on the last Day, partake of the Promises made to all in the Gospels, as I am innocent of the Crimes laid to my Charge.* And now the King declaring himself, as well as the Assembly, entirely satisfied and fully convinced of his Innocence, the Hymn *Te Deum*, &c. was sung by

His Reception at Rome.

He assembles a Council to try the Pope.

The Clergy decline judging him.

And he clears himself by an Oath.

all with the greateſt Solemnity to thank the Almighty for thus reſtoring their much injured Paſtor to his See, and together with him Peace and Tranquillity both to the Church and the City[k]. As for *Paſchalis* and *Campulus*, the chief Authors of that wicked Attempt, they were by the whole Aſſembly ſentenced to Death. But, at the earneſt Deſire and Requeſt of the Pope, their Lives were ſpared, and they only baniſhed, with all their Accomplices, to *France*[l]. Year of Chriſt 800.

What happened, ſoon after this Trial in *Rome*, is the moſt remarkable Event of *Charlemagne*'s Life, and has rendered the Memory of Pope *Leo* III. more famous, than that of all the other Popes, in the Annals of *France*, I mean the Promotion of *Charlemagne* to the Imperial Dignity, commonly called the Tranſlation of the Empire to the *French*, but very improperly, ſince the Empire was not thereby tranſlated, nor taken from the *Greeks* and given to the *French*, but only the Title of Emperor, extinct ever ſince the Time of *Auguſtulus* in the Weſt, was revived and given to *Charles* (G). This great Event is thus related, and very conciſely, by the contemporary Writers; "*Charles* paſſed the Winter at *Rome*, ſays the anonymous Annaliſt publiſhed by *Lambecius*, who wrote at this very Time, and as there was then no Emperor, the Empire being governed by a Woman, (*viz.* by *Irene*) the Pope, the other Biſhops, and the whole People of *Rome* thought it proper and juſt that *Charles*, King of the *Franks*, who held *Rome* formerly the Seat of the Emperors, and all the other Places in *Italy*, *Gaul* and *Germany* once held by them, ſhould be diſtinguiſhed with the ſame Title. They acquainted *Charles* therewith; and he being, at their Requeſt and Deſire, conſecrated by *Leo* on the Feſtival of the Nativity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, took upon him the Title of Emperor[m]." *Anaſtaſius* only tells us, that the ſame Aſſembly, the

Charlemagne raiſed to the Imperial Dignity.

The Account Hiſtorians give of that Event.

[k] Anaſt. ibid. Eginhard. in Annal. Anonymus apud Lambec. Annal. Lauriſham. Moſſiac. Monach. San Gall. l. 1. c. 18. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Annal. Anonym. ad ann. 801.

(G) Some Coins or Medals of *Charlemagne* are ſtill to be ſeen with this Legend, RENOVATIO IMPERII, *the Revival of the Empire:* And ſo it is called by *Sigonius*, the Title of Emperor of the Weſt, ſays that Writer, which had failed, about 300 Years before, in *Momyllus Auguſtulus*, was revived by the Pope, that the *Roman* Church might have a Defender, or Guardian, againſt Infidels, Heretics and ſeditious Men, an Office, which the Emperors of the Eaſt had long ſince utterly neglected, and in a Manner reſigned (1). As no Prince bore, at this Time, the Title of Emperor of the Weſt, that Title might well be revived, but could not be tranſferred.

(1) Sigon. de Reg. Ital. l. 4. ad ann. 801.

Year of Christ 800.

Assembly mentioned above, meeting soon after again in the Basilic of St. *Peter*, the Pope placed a most precious Crown on the King's Head; and that thereupon the whole *Roman* People crying out three Times aloud, to *Charles Augustus, crowned by the Hand of God, great and pacific Emperor, Life and Victory*, he was appointed Emperor of the *Romans*, and anointed, together with his Son, by the holy Pontiff on Christmas-day[n]. In the same Manner, and almost in the very same Words, is this Transaction related by all the contemporary Historians to a Man. Some of them only add, that the new Emperor being placed, after he had received the holy Unction, on a Throne, the Pope and the *Roman* People, adoring him, or prostrating themselves before him, thus acknowleged him, as they had formerly acknowleged the other Emperors, for their Lord and their Sovereign; that the Pope having presented him with the Imperial Robes, he returned, attired as Emperor, from the Church to his Palace, amidst the loud Acclamations of the People crowding from all Parts to see him, and that thenceforth laying aside the Title of *Roman* Patrician, he constantly stiled himself *Augustus* and Emperor[o]. *Eginhard*, who was *Charlemagne*'s Secretary, and had probably attended him to *Rome*, assures us, that he was no-ways privy to the Design of the Pope and the *Roman* People; nay, and that far from being pleased with, or proud of his new Dignity, he declared, that had he foreseen, or in the least suspected what had happened, he would have forborne appearing at Church even on so solemn a Day. However that be, certain it is, that he would never afterwards part with that Title; but strove, with frequent Embassies and Letters filled with the kindest Expressions, to appease the Emperors of the East complaining of his assuming it as an unsufferable Usurpation; nay in the very Letters he wrote to them on that Subject he constantly stiled them his Brothers, as being equal in Dignity to them[p].

His Promotion no Argument of the temporal Supremacy of the Pope.

The Translation, as it is called, of the Empire from the *Greeks* to the *French* is alleged by the two great Champions of the Papacy *Baronius* and *Bellarmine* as an indisputable Instance of the temporal Supremacy of the Pope, or of the supreme and unlimited Power they vest in the Pope over all Princes and Kingdoms: And in that Instance both Authors triumph, as if *Leo* had really exercised such a Power,

[n] Anast. in Leon. III. vit. Carol. Aimoin. l. 5. c. 6. Eginhard. in vit. Carol.

[o] Annal. Frac. ad ann. 801. Monach. Engolis. in Ado in Chron. ætat. 6. Gofrid. Viterb. in Chron.

[p] Eginhard. ad ann. 801.

and

and exercised it with the Approbation of all Christian Princes, since *Charles* was acknowleged by all for true and lawful Emperor upon his being raised to that Dignity by the Pope q. But to make it undeniably appear that no such Power was, on the present Occasion, exercised by *Leo*, I need only observe, that in promoting *Charlemagne* to the Imperial Dignity he took nothing from *Irene*, who then governed the Empire, gave nothing to the new Emperor but the bare Name or Title of Emperor. Had he deposed *Irene*, had he divested her of her Dominions, and given them to *Charles*, and he had thereupon been acknowleged by all the Christian Princes for lawful Emperor both of the East and the West, he would indeed, in that Case, have exercised the pretended Supremacy; and such a Translation of the Empire might well be alleged as an Instance of the Power they vest in him of disposing at his Pleasure of Kingdoms and Empires. But as he neither deposed *Irene*, nor took any Dominions from her, or gave any to *Charles*, but only revived in him, and not even that by his own Authority alone, the extinct Title of Emperor of the West, to pretend that by thus translating the Empire, he exercised the Power of disposing of Kingdoms and Empires, is pretending that he exercised such a Power, when he did not dispose of a single Foot of Ground. *Charles* possessed more extensive Dominions before he was raised to the Empire, than had been possessed by any Emperor of the West ever since the Division of the Empire. He held, by Right of Succession or by Conquest, all *Gaul*, Part of *Spain*, all *Italy*, from the *Alps* to *Calabria*, *Istria*, *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia* now *Hungary*, all *Dacia* comprising *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, *Transilvania*, and, what no Emperor had ever held before him, that vast Tract of Country lying between the *Rhine* and the *Vistula*, between the Northern Ocean and the *Danube*. These extensive Dominions he possessed when he was yet only stiled King; and it is not even pretended, that he acquired a single Foot of Ground more, or Right to a single Foot of Ground more, by being stiled Emperor. Had *Leo* therefore given him that Title by his own Authority alone, it would not follow from thence that he had, or that he exercised any kind of Power over the temporal Dominions of Princes.

Year of Christ 800.

The Pope only gave him the bare Title of Emperor.

But that not even the bare Title of Emperor was conferred on him by the Authority of the Pope alone, but by the Authority of the *Roman* People as well as by that of the Pope, is manifest from the

And not even that by his own Authority alone.

q Bar. ad. Ann. 800. Bellar. de Translat. Rom. Imper. l. 1. c. 4.

Year of Christ 800.

Account all the contemporary Historians give us of that Transaction. The Pope, says the anonymous Annalist quoted above, the other Bishops, that is the *French* and *Italian* Bishops then in *Rome*, and the whole *Roman* People thought it proper and just, that *Charles* should be distinguished with the Title of Emperor; and he being, at their Request and Desire, consecrated by *Leo*, took upon him the Title of Emperor. *Anastasius* writes, that the Pope having placed a Crown on his Head, the whole People of *Rome* cried out three Times to *Charles Augustus* Life and Victory, and that he was thereby appointed Emperor of the *Romans*; so that it was not by the Pope alone, according to *Anastasius*, that the Title of Emperor was given him, or that he was appointed Emperor of the *Romans*, but by the Pope and the People: Nay, twenty Writers and more, quoted by the learned *Du Pin*[r], ascribe the raising of *Charlemagne* to the Imperial Dignity, or the conferring on him the Title of Emperor, to the Senate and the People of *Rome*, without so much as ever once mentioning the Pope.

In what Sense Charles *may be said to have been made Emperor by the Pope.*

Some *Greek* Writers indeed, quoted by *Bellarmine*[s], tell us, that *Charles* was made Emperor by *Leo*; but from the Context it is plain they meant no more than that he was by *Leo* crowned and anointed Emperor; which are but mere Ceremonies, that may well suppose, but never can give any kind of Title or Right without the previous Consent of the People. Besides, *Leo* may be properly said to have preferred *Charlemagne* to the Empire, tho' he did not prefer him by his own Authority, but by that of the People, acting in their Name, and as their Representative. He may likewise be said to have made him Emperor as they, who formerly first proposed the Emperors, and made Interest in their Behalf, were said to have made them, tho' properly speaking they were made or chosen by the People, or Soldiery. What *Bellarmine* adds, *viz.* that *Charlemagne* did not acquire the Empire, is true, if by the Empire he means the bare Title of Emperor; but false, if he means such Dominions or Territories as gave him a Claim to that Title. These he acquired; but tho' possessed of Dominions far more extensive than those, that composed the western Empire even in its most flourishing State, he did not take upon him the Title of Emperor till it was given him by the People of *Rome*, and the Pope executing their Will, or acting, in their Name, as the first and chief Man of the City.

[r] Du Pin. de Antiq. Eccles. Discip. dissert. 7. p. 521.

[s] Bellar. ubi supra.

But

But *Charlemagne*, ſays *Bellarmine*, having, by his laſt Will, divided the Empire amongſt his Children, would have *Leo* to confirm it, leſt he ſhould ſeem to deliver, without his Conſent, that Empire to others, for which he was indebted to him. On the other Hand *Baronius* pretends, that he did not diſpoſe of the Empire at all, thereby to ſhow that the Power of diſpoſing of it was not veſted in him, but in the Pope. But that *Charlemagne* was not indebted to the Pope alone for the Empire, or rather for the Title of Emperor, has been ſhown already; and that he diſpoſed of it ſome Months before his Death, taking his Son *Lewis*, King of *Aquitaine*, for his Partner in the Empire, and cauſing him to be crowned Emperor, is atteſted by *Eginhard* and *Theganus*, who lived both at that very Time[t]. He conſulted indeed, on that Occaſion, the Barons of his Kingdom, and required their Approbation and Conſent, having aſſembled them for that Purpoſe at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; but it does not appear, that he conſulted the Pope, or ſo much as acquainted him with his Deſign. It is true, as *Baronius* obſerves, that *Charlemagne* did not diſpoſe of the Empire, or of the Imperial Dignity, in the Will he made in 806. But it was not becauſe he thought it belonged to the Pope to diſpoſe of it, ſince he afterwards diſpoſed of it without the Knowlege of the Pope; but becauſe he had not yet determined with himſelf, whether he ſhould bequeath it to *Pepin* as King of *Italy*, or to *Charles* as the eldeſt of his Children (H).

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He diſpoſed of the Empire or Imperial Dignity without the Conſent of the Pope.

Charlemagne, now Emperor, paſſed the remaining Part of the Winter at *Rome*, regulating, ſays the *Loiſelian* Annaliſt[u], the Affairs both of the State and the Church; made many rich Preſents to moſt of the Churches, eſpecially to thoſe of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and taking Leave of the Pope on the 25th of *April*, repaired to *Spoleti*, from thence to *Pavia*, and from *Pavia* to *France*. At *Pavia* he added ſeveral Laws to thoſe of the *Lombards*, who had been hitherto governed by their own Laws only, and, in Imitation of the eaſtern Emperors, began to mark in all his Laws, Diplomas and Edicts,

He returns to France.

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[t] Eginhard. ad ann. 813. Thegan. de Geſt. Ludovic. Pii c. 6. [u] Annal. Loiſ. ad ann. 801.

(H) It is to be obſerved, that tho' the Promotion of *Charlemagne* to the Imperial Dignity happened on the 25th of *December* of the Year 800, it is generally placed by the *French* Hiſtorians under the Year 801, the 25th of *December*, or Chriſtmas-day, being with them the firſt Day of the Year. For the ſame Reaſon Pope *Hadrian*, who died on the 25th of *December* 795, is ſaid by *Marianus Scotus* to have died in 796, and on the firſt Day of that Year.

the

Year of Chriſt 801.

the Years of his Empire and thoſe of his Conſulate, and likewiſe the Indiction never before uſed by him, or by any of his Anceſtors.

Conſtantine reſolves to diveſt his Mother of her uſurped Power.

While the Empire was thus revived in the Weſt, it was near utterly deſtroyed in the Eaſt by the unbounded Ambition of the Woman, who governed it. *Irene*, a moſt zealous Advocate for the Worſhip of Images, but with all her Zeal and Devotion the moſt ambitious, nay, and the moſt wicked of Women, had ruled, during the Minority of her Son *Conſtantine*, with an abſolute Sway; and with the ſame Sway ſhe continued to rule, when he was no longer a Minor, taking the firſt Place in all public Ceremonies, ſigning all public Acts before him, making War, concluding Treaties of Peace, diſpoſing of all Preferments both eccleſiaſtic and civil without ſo much as acquainting him therewith, as if he ſtill were a Minor or Infant. The young Emperor, finding himſelf thus excluded from all Share in the Government, and conſequently left only with a ſmall Number of Domeſtics, while the Levée of *Stauracius*, the Empreſs's Prime Miniſter, was daily crowded with Perſons of the higheſt Diſtinction, he reſolved to emancipate himſelf, and degrading both his unnatural Mother and her favourite Miniſter, take the Reins of Government into his own Hands. This Reſolution he imparted to ſome of the Officers of his Court; and it was agreed among them, that the Emperor ſhould declare in full Senate, that being of Age, he was reſolved thenceforth to govern of himſelf, and aſſume that Power, which others had engroſſed, tho' he alone was entitled to it by his Birth and the known Laws of the Empire, and that after this Declaration *Irene* and *Stauracius* ſhould both be arreſted and confined for Life to the Iſland of *Sicily*.

His Deſign diſcovered and all concerned in it ſeverely puniſhed.

But this Reſolution was no ſooner taken than diſcovered, moſt of the Emperor's Domeſtics being retained by *Stauracius*, and ready to earn his Favour at the Expence of their Maſter and Sovereign. The Plot, or Conſpiracy, as it was called, being thus diſcovered, all, who had been any-ways concerned in it, or privy to it, were, by *Irene's* Order, apprehended, moſt cruelly beaten, ſtript of all their Effects, and baniſhed to *Sicily*, whither they propoſed baniſhing her and her Miniſter. As for the young Emperor, the enraged Mother reprimanded him with the utmoſt Severity, and not without Blows, treating him as a Child, and confining him, as wanting in the Reſpect, that was due to her, to an Apartment in the Palace. While he was thus kept cloſely confined, ſhe prevailed with her Largeſſes on the venal

venal Soldiery, and their more venal Officers to take an Oath of Allegiance to her, by which they bound themſelves to maintain her in the full Poſſeſſion of the Power ſhe had enjoyed, during the Minority of her Son, to obey her in all Things, and to acknowlege no other Maſter or Sovereign but her. That Oath all took but the Troops of *Armenia*, who rejected it, as the young Empreſs, the Wife of *Conſtantine*, was a Native of that Country, with the utmoſt Indignation, declaring that the Emperor was now of Age, and he alone their lawful Sovereign; that no other had a Right to command them, and they would obey no other, much leſs a Woman. *Irene*, apprehending their Example might influence the reſt of the Army, diſpatched, in great Haſte, an Officer of her Guards, named *Alexis*, with large Sums to gain them. But *Alexis* was himſelf gained by them; nay, and putting himſelf at their Head marched ſtrait to *Conſtantinople*, entered the City without Oppoſition, the Troops quartered there being aſhamed of the Oath they had taken, ſet the Emperor at Liberty, and placed him on the Throne amidſt the loud Acclamations both of the People and the Soldiery.

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Irene *nevertheleſs depoſed* and Conſtantine *placed on the Throne.*

Conſtantine, thus placed on the Throne, began his Government with baniſhing *Stauracius*, his Mother's Prime Miniſter, into *Armenia*, and cauſing her favourite Eunuchs to be publicly beaten with Rods, and confined to the moſt inhoſpitable Places of the Empire. As for *Irene*, he led her himſelf, with great Reſpect, out of the Palace, and attended her in Perſon to a Houſe, which ſhe had built, and in which was lodged the immenſe Treaſure ſhe had amaſſed, during her long Adminiſtration. He aſſured her that no Injury ſhould ever be offered her, but that ſhe ſhould, on the contrary, be always treated with the greateſt Reſpect, as Empreſs, and the Emperor's Mother. In the mean Time the *Bulgarians* breaking into the Empire, the Emperor marched againſt them in Perſon, engaged them, but was entirely defeated. He was ſoon after defeated anew by the *Saracens* with the Loſs of all his beſt Officers, and the Flower of his Army. Theſe Misfortunes the Friends of *Irene* took Care to improve to her Advantage, extolling her Wiſdom, her Abilities, her Experience in public Affairs, and entreating the Emperor, out of a pretended Friendſhip for him, to adviſe with her at ſo critical a Juncture, ſince none in the whole Empire was capable of aſſiſting him with better Advice. *Conſtantine* fell into the Snare. For he was not only reconciled to her, but recalled her to Court, reſtored her to her former

Treats his Mother with Kindneſs and Reſpect.

Recalls to Court both her and her favourite Miniſter.

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former Authority, caused her to be proclaimed Empress anew, and even suffered himself to be persuaded by her to recall *Stauracius*, and admit him to his Confidence. And now *Irene*, having one ready to second her in all her ambitious and wicked Designs, made it her Study to deprive him of all his true Friends, and put him upon such Measures as she well knew would render him odious both to the People and Soldiery. Thus, by her Advice, he not only caused the Eyes of his Uncle *Nicephorus* to be put out upon his being told, that Part of the Army had formed a Design of raising him to the Throne, but commanded the Tongues of his other four Uncles *Christopher*, *Nicetas*, *Anthimus*, and *Euodicimus* to be plucked out, tho' none of them was any-ways privy to, or concerned in the Plot. He was indebted, as we have seen, to *Alexis* and the Troops of *Armenia* for his Liberty, and the Power he enjoyed. They were entirely devoted to him, and had therefore opposed the Restoration of *Irene*, and would not obey her when restored by him to her former Authority. To be revenged therefore on them, and at the same Time to remove out of the Way the best, if not the only true Friends the unhappy Emperor had in the whole Empire, the wicked Mother found Means to persuade him, that *Alexis* affected the Crown, that he had already formed a considerable Party, and only waited for a favourable Opportunity to put in Execution his wicked Design. Hereupon *Alexis* was immediately seized, and his eyes were put out, neither he himself, nor any of his Friends being allowed to speak a single Word in Defence of his Innocence. Such Barbarity, such crying Injustice provoked the Troops of *Armenia* to such a Degree, that openly revolting not from *Constantine*, they said, but from *Irene*, they refused to obey the Officer, whom the Emperor had, at her Instigation, appointed to command them. *Irene*, glad of so plausible a Pretence to wreak her Vengeance on that loyal Corps, persuaded the Emperor to treat them as Rebels; and a strong Detachment was sent against them. They defended themselves with great Resolution and Bravery, but being, in the End, overpowered, the Officers were all put to Death, and the Soldiers led in Chains to *Constantinople*, and conveyed from thence into different Islands.

She procures the Disgrace and the Ruin of all his true Friends.

In the mean Time *Irene*, who watched every Opportunity of exposing the Emperor, observing that he betrayed a violent Passion for one of her Maids named *Theodota*, resolved to improve that Passion to her Advantage, and persuade the unwary Prince to divorce his

Advises him to divorce his lawful Wife and marry one of her Maids.

lawful Wife, and take *Theodota* to his Bed in her Room. This she knew she could easily compass, as the Emperor had no kind of Affection for the present Empress, whom she herself had forced him to marry against his Inclination; and she was, on the other Hand, well apprised that such a Step would occasion no small Scandal, would give no small Offence to the Clergy as well as the People, and be, in the End, probably attended with great Disturbances, which she wanted neither Skill nor Address to improve. Having therefore one Day, in a private Conversation with the Emperor, taken Notice of the great Regard he had for *Theodota*, she told him that his Affections were not misplaced; that *Theodota* well deserved, not so much on account of the Charms of her Person, as for her many other good Qualities, all the Regard and Esteem he showed for her; that she heartily repented her having persuaded him to marry one, in every Respect, so much inferior to her; one with whom she was now sensible he could never taste the Happiness of a social Life, the greatest Happiness Heaven could indulge in this World. She added, that the Evil she had done was not however without a Remedy; that he was vested with an absolute Power; that none dared to controul him, and he therefore might drive from, or take to his Bed, whom he pleased. As this wicked Suggestion was entirely agreeable to his Inclination, he readily complied with it, resolving that Moment, without reflecting on the Consequences, to divorce his lawful Wife, and marry his beloved *Theodota* in her Room. However, to save Appearances, he applied to the Patriarch *Tarasius*, requiring him to declare his former Marriage null, to perform the nuptial Ceremony on occasion of his new Marriage, and to give the Veil to the Empress *Mary*, who, to save her Life, had consented to exchange the Imperial Crown with a Veil, the Emperor pretending, without the least Foundation, that she had attempted to poison him, and threatening her with an ignominious Death, if she did not retire to a Monastery. The Patriarch remonstrated, with great Zeal, against the intended Marriage, as forbidden both by the Laws of God and the Empire, and alleging several Passages of Scripture to prove the Unlawfulness of it, boldly declared, that he would be no-ways accessory, nor suffer any of his Clergy to be accessory to so wicked an Action. To this Resolution he kept firm and inflexible till the Emperor, recollecting how zealous and active he had been in restoring the holy Images, threatened to turn *Iconoclast* if he did not comply; to abrogate the Acts of the Council

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The Patriarch so far gained as not to oppose that adulterous Marriage.

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of *Nice*, and cauſe the Images, which he had taken ſo much Pains to ſet up, to be all pulled down, to be caſt out of the Churches and broken. Here the Firmneſs and Conſtancy of the Patriarch failed him; and he was ſome Time at a Loſs what Party to take. But concluding in the End, that of two Evils he might chuſe, with a ſafe Conſcience, the leaſt, he reſolved no longer to oppoſe the adulterous Marriage, ſince he could by no other Means reſcue the holy Images, and with them the Chriſtian Religion, from the Danger that threatened them. Forbearing therefore all further Remonſtrances, he allowed the Abbot of a Monaſtery in *Conſtantinople* to perform the Marriage Ceremony, and his own Catechiſt to give the Veil to the Empreſs *Mary*; nay, and admitted the Emperor to the Euchariſt and to his Communion, tho' living, even according to him, in the State of Adultery.

Two famous Monks ſeparate themſelves from the Communion of the Patriarch and the Emperor.

The Conduct of *Taraſius* gave great Offence to many, who, tho' no leſs deſirous than he of preſerving the holy Images, thought nevertheleſs that ſo open a Breach of the Divine Law ſhould not have been even connived at to preſerve them; that it was quite as criminal in the Patriarch to have allowed any of his Clergy to marry the Emperor, and veil the degraded Empreſs, as if he had performed both Ceremonies himſelf; that to admit one to the Euchariſt, to communicate with one, who lived in the State of Adultery, was not barely conniving at his Crime, but approving it. At the Head of thoſe, who thus complained of the Conduct of the Patriarch, were the two famous Monks *Plato* and *Theodore*, both reputed great Saints, and highly revered by the People. They not ſatisfied with loudly condemning the unlawful, the adulterous, the wicked and ſcandalous Marriage of the Emperor, openly ſeparated themſelves from his Communion, as no longer a Member of the Church, and from the Communion of the Patriarch too, as no leſs guilty than he. This occaſioned great Diſturbances in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, *Irene* ſtirring up the Emperor under-hand againſt the Monks, and at the ſame Time the Monks againſt the Emperor. At her Inſtigation *Conſtantine* ordered the two Monks to be ſeized, cauſed *Theodore* to be moſt cruelly beaten, and ſent both into Exile with all the Monks, who, adhering to them, did not approve of his Marriage. *Irene*, tho' the chief Author of all this Severity, was the firſt to complain of it, taxing the Emperor with Cruelty, and extolling the Virtue of the holy Men, whom he perſecuted with ſo much Barbarity merely on account of their Virtue. As the two Monks were revered by all

And are at the Inſtigation of Irene *ſeverely puniſhed by the Emperor.*

as

as great Saints, *Irene*, by pretending to eſpouſe their Cauſe, gained the Affections of the People, and at the ſame Time eſtranged them, what ſhe had chiefly in her View, from the Emperor. Year of Chriſt 801.

Her next Care was to gain the Soldiery; and in order to that ſhe laid hold of the following Opportunity. The new Empreſs being delivered of a Son, while the Emperor was uſing, with his Mother, the Baths of *Pruſia* in *Bithynia*, he repaſſed the Straits, as ſoon as he received the joyful Tidings, with a ſmall Retinue, leaving his Mother with the reſt of the Court in *Bithynia*. In his Abſence, *Irene* privately applied to ſuch of the Officers of the Army as ſeemed to her the moſt diſſatisfied with the Conduct of the Emperor, and having with large Sums and great Promiſes gained them, and by their Means moſt of the reſt, ſhe engaged them to bind themſelves by an Oath to depoſe *Conſtantine*, and place her on the Imperial Throne in his Room. In the mean Time News being brought, that the *Saracens* had broken into the Empire, *Conſtantine* marched againſt them in Perſon at the Head of 20000 choſen Troops. Under him commanded *Stauracius*, who, concluding from the Ardor he obſerved in the Soldiery that ſhould they engage the Enemy, nothing could prevent their gaining a complete Victory, reſolved to deprive the Emperor, by ſome Means or other, of that Glory. Having therefore aſſembled with that View, ſome of the chief Officers of his Party, and repreſented to them, that ſhould they engage the Enemy, a complete Victory would undoubtedly be the Iſſue of the Engagement; that ſuch a Victory would recommend the Emperor to the Love and Eſteem of the People as well as the Soldiery, and conſequently defeat their Deſign, it was reſolved, that an Engagement ſhould by all Means, be prevented. Purſuant to that Reſolution *Stauracius*, pretending to ſend out Scouts to reconnoitre the Situation and Strength of the Enemy, commanded them to report, on their Return, that the *Saracens*, ſtruck with a Panic, at the Approach of the Emperor, had all retired in Confuſion, and that not one of them was any-where to be ſeen in the Field. This proved a great Diſappointment to the Emperor; and he returned under the greateſt Concern to *Conſtantinople*, which he had flattered himſelf he ſhould have entered in Triumph.

Irene gains ſome of the chief Officers of the Army.

The Emperor robbed by them of a Victory over the Saracens.

On his Return he met with a very cold Reception from the People. To amuſe them therefore, and in ſome Degree reconcile them to him, he reſolved to entertain them with public Shows, and the

They conſpire with Irene *to ſeize him.*

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Day being appointed, on which they were to be exhibited, the 17th of *June* 797, *Irene* and the Conſpirators choſe that very Day for the Execution of their Deſign; and it was agreed, that they ſhould ſeize the Emperor as he returned from the Circus. But he, having either received private Intelligence of their Deſign, or ſuſpecting it from their attempting to ſurround him on all Sides, ſnatched himſelf from them, riding full Speed, as he was on Horſe-back, to the Port, where he threw himſelf into a Boat, and paſſing the Straits that Moment, arrived ſafe at *Pylæ* in *Bithynia*, where ſome of the eaſtern Legions were quartered, on whoſe Fidelity he knew he might ſafely rely. The News of his Eſcape threw *Irene*, and the reſt of the Conſpirators into the utmoſt Confuſion. They all concluded the Conſpiracy was diſcovered; and *Irene*, looking upon herſelf as loſt, began to think of applying to the Biſhops, who all adored her on account of her Zeal for Images, and trying to obtain, by their Means, Leave to retire from the World, and paſs undiſturbed the reſt of her Life in a Monaſtery. But in the mean Time another Expedient, more agreeable to her Inclination, occurring to her, ſhe thought it adviſeable to delay applying to the Biſhops till ſhe found what Succeſs might attend it. This was to perſuade, if by any Means ſhe could, ſuch of the Conſpirators as had attended the Emperor in his Flight, and of whom he entertained not the leaſt Diſtruſt, to attempt the Execution of their Deſign. With that View ſhe wrote to them by one, in whom ſhe could confide, threatening to diſcover the whole Plot, and all, who were concerned in it, if they did not, as ſhe was very confident they might if their Courage did not fail them, ſeize on the Emperor, and bring him Priſoner to *Conſtantinople*. As for herſelf, ſhe ſaid ſhe wanted not Friends to intercede for her, to whoſe Interceſſion the Emperor, however provoked, could not but pay great Regard, eſpecially when backed with filial Duty, which they would take Care to revive. But as for them, Death muſt be their Lot, and a moſt cruel and ignominious Death; and ſhe therefore conjured them, as they were reduced to the Alternative of deſtroying the Emperor, or being deſtroyed by him, to ſummon all their Courage, and put him out of a Condition of hurting them, promiſing to reward them, if they ſucceeded, as ſhe did not doubt they would, with the firſt Employments and Dignities of the Empire. This Letter made a deep Impreſſion on their Minds; and the Danger they were in inſpiring them with Courage, they reſolved, at a private Meeting to bribe the Guards

But are diſappointed in the Attempt.

His Guards bribed by Irene *and he ſeized by them and brought Priſoner to* Conſtantinople.

Guards at any Rate, and entering the Emperor's Bed-chamber in the Night, to ſeize him, to carry him on board a Veſſel, and conveying him to *Conſtantinople*, deliver him up, unhurt by them, into the Hands of *Irene*. Every Thing ſucceded to their Wiſh: The Guards were eaſily gained, and the Conſpirators, entering the Room, ſeized on the Emperor, whom they found on his Knees at his Prayers, and carried him, on board a Veſſel prepared for that Purpoſe, to *Conſtantinople*. They arrived early in the Morning, and having immediately acquainted *Irene* with their Arrival, they received an Order from her to ſhut up their Priſoner in the Apartment of the Imperial Palace called *Porphyra*, that being the moſt remote from the Street. He had been there but a few Hours when the barbarous Mother, having firſt adviſed with *Stauracius* and the reſt of the Conſpirators, ordered his Eyes to be put out; and they were accordingly put out in ſo cruel a Manner, that he died ſoon after in the utmoſt Agony. Upon his Death *Irene* was proclaimed Empreſs: And thus, what had never before happened, did the Empire fall to the Diſtaff.

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His Eyes put out by his Mother's Order, and he dies ſoon after.

This is the Account the contemporary Hiſtorians all give us of the Uſurpation of *Irene*[w], a Woman, if ſuch an Apoſtate from Nature deſerves the Name of a Woman, famous in Hiſtory for aſpiring, by an Ambition unprecedented in her Sex, to the Empire, but far more infamous for the Methods ſhe purſued to attain it. And yet this Monſter of Wickedneſs, as ſhe was a zealous Promoter of the Worſhip of Images, wanted not her Panegyriſts amongſt the holy Men of thoſe Days; nor does ſhe want her Advocates amongſt the Writers of later Times. *Theodorus Studita* (I), the greateſt Saint of that Age, ſtiles her an excellent Princeſs, a Woman beloved of God, and extols her as the moſt religious, as the moſt virtuous of Women[x]. The Monk *Michael* in his Life of that Saint gives us, in the following Words, an Account of the preſent Revolution. *Conſtantine*, ſays he, being deprived firſt of his Eye-ſight, which he had miſuſed, and afterwards of the Empire, *his pious Mother* Irene reſumed the Government[y]; and *Theophanes*, ſpeaking of the Revolution, that happened

She is commended as a Saint by the holy Men of thoſe Days.

[w] Theoph. in Chron. Theod. Studit. in vit. Taraſ. Mich. in vit. Theod. Studit. Cedren, &c. [x] Theod. apud Bar. ad ann. 801. [y] Mich. in vit. Theod. Studit.

(I) He was afterwards appointed Abbot of the famous Monaſtery founded by the Conſul *Studius* in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*; and from thence he took the Name of *Studita*.

(1) Niceph. l. 15. c. 25.

pened

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pened ſoon after, when *Irene* was depoſed, and *Nicephorus* raiſed to the Empire in her room, aſcribes the depoſing of the *moſt pious Irene* to the Sins of the People[z]; nay ſhe has even a Place, in the Menology of the *Greeks*, amongſt the Saints; and the 13th of *Auguſt* is with them the Anniverſary of St. *Irene*. To worſhip Images, to promote that Worſhip was with the Writers of thoſe Days, the Height of all Perfection, atoned for the blackeſt Crimes, and turned the greateſt Monſters of Wickedneſs into Saints. On the contrary not to worſhip Images, to oppoſe that Worſhip, was with them Sacrilege, Hereſy, the Height of all Wickedneſs, and turned Men, in all other Reſpects of unblemiſhed Characters, into Monſters of Iniquity.

Her unnatural Cruelty not only excuſed but juſtified by Baronius.

Amongſt the modern Writers *Baronius* undertakes not only to excuſe, but to juſtify the Cruelty of that inhuman Monſter to her Son. What he ſays on that Head I ſhall deliver in his own Words. " Snares, ſays he under the Year 796, were laid this Year for the " Emperor *Conſtantine* by his Mother *Irene*, which he fell into the " Year following, and was deprived at the ſame Time of his Eyes " and his Life. An execrable Crime indeed, had ſhe not been " prompted to it by her Zeal for Juſtice. On that Conſideration " ſhe even deſerved to be commended for what ſhe did. But it was " not by her Command he ſuffered: She only ordered him to be re- " ſtrained and deprived of his Power, which was ſnatching a Sword " out of the Hand of a mad Man. Chriſt has taught us that it is " great Piety to be, on ſuch an Occaſion, cruel to a Son, ſaying, *he* " *that loveth Son or Daughter more than me is not worthy of me*[a], " and, *think not that I came to ſend Peace on Earth; I came not* " *to ſend Peace, but a Sword*[b]. In more ancient Times the Hands " of Parents were armed, by God's Command, againſt their Chil- " dren worſhipping ſtrange Gods, and they, who killed them, were " commended by *Moſes* ſaying, *you have conſecrated to Day your* " *Hands to the Lord, even every Man upon his Son and his Father,* " (whom they killed) *that he may beſtow upon you a Bleſſing*[c]. It " matters much with what Intention a Perſon acts. Had *Irene*, out " of Ambition or a Deſire of reigning, plotted againſt her Son, ſhe " had thereby rendered herſelf more deteſtable even than *Agrippina*, " the Mother of *Nero*, who choſe her Son ſhould reign even at the

[z] Theoph. ad ann. 803. [a] Mat. 10. ver. 37. [b] Ibid. ver. 34. [c] Exod. 32. ver. 27, 29.

" Expence of her own Life. For being foretold by a Soothſayer, Year of
" that if he ever reigned, he would kill his Mother, ſhe is ſaid to Chriſt 801.
" have anſwered, let him kill her on Condition he reigns, *occidat*
" *modo imperet*. But as *Irene* was ſuppoſed to have done what ſhe
" did, (that is, to have depoſed her Son, who alone had a Right to
" reign, and murdered him) for the Sake of Religion, and Love of
" Juſtice, ſhe was ſtill thought by the eaſtern Writers, who were
" Eye-witneſſes of the Fact, and Men of great Sanctity, worthy of
" Praiſe and Commendation[d]." Thus does the Annaliſt ſtrive to clear that Monſter of Cruelty and Wickedneſs, nay and blaſphemouſly to juſtify from the Old and New Teſtament, and the Doctrine of our Saviour, one of the moſt horrid Murders we read of in Hiſtory. But that *Conſtantine* was not only ſeized and confined, as the Annaliſt pretends, but deprived of his Eyes by the Command of his Mother, is atteſted by *Theophanes*, one of the holy Men, whom *Baronius* ſuppoſes to have been Eye-witneſſes of the Fact. *They put out his Eyes*, ſays that Writer, *by the Advice of his Mother and her Counſellors, with ſo much Cruelty, that he immediately expired*[e]. He adds, that the Sun was darkened for 17 Days, Heaven puniſhing with ſo long a Darkneſs thoſe, who had for ever deprived their Sovereign of the Comfort of Light. To ſuppoſe with the holy Men of thoſe Days, that the unnatural Mother was prompted by her Love of Juſtice, and Zeal for Religion, to conſpire againſt her Son and her Sovereign, to depoſe and to murder him, is ſuppoſing ſhe was prompted by her Love of Juſtice to commit the moſt crying Injuſtice, and by her Zeal for Religion the blackeſt of Crimes. Her Love of Juſtice, her Zeal for Religion would have prompted her, had ſhe had any, to divert her Son with her good Advice from abuſing his Power, whereas from Hiſtory it appears, that he never abuſed it, that in no Inſtance whatever he acted contrary to Religion or to Juſtice but by her Advice and at her Inſtigation. Had ſhe plotted againſt her Son out of a Deſire of reigning in his Room, ſhe had been, even according to *Baronius*, more deteſtable than *Agrippina:* But that ſhe did plot againſt him, that ſhe depoſed and murdered him out of a Deſire of reigning in his Room, is as certain, if in Hiſtory there is any Certainty, as it is certain that ſhe reigned; and conſequently that ſhe was more deteſtable than *Agrippina*. Indeed I ſee not why the Annaliſt ſhould have thought of comparing

[d] Bar. ad ann. 796. p. 482. [e] Theoph. ad ann. Iren. iterum Imper. 1.

at

Year of Chriſt 801.

at all *Irene* to *Agrippina*, or *Agrippina* to *Irene*, ſince the one ſacrificed her own Life to the Deſire ſhe had that her Son ſhould reign; which might have been owing to an unparallelled Fondneſs, as well as to Ambition; whereas the other ſacrificed the Life of her Son to the Deſire ſhe had of reigning herſelf, which can only be aſcribed to the moſt criminal Ambition, and the moſt unnatural Cruelty. As to the Paſſages alleged by *Baronius* out of the Scriptures, to pretend by them to excuſe, or to juſtify a Mother murdering her Son is wantonly abuſing the Scriptures, and next to Blaſphemy. The Meaning of our Saviour's Words is obvious, *viz.* that we are not to ſuffer ourſelves to be diverted from his Service, or from following him, by our Attachment to our Parents or neareſt Relations. It was by the expreſs Command of God, delivered by *Moſes*, that the Parents put their Children to Death worſhipping ſtrange Gods, and the Children their Parents; and the Annaliſt, I ſuppoſe, does not pretend that the like Command was given to *Irene*. But there is no Wickedneſs, no Crime however enormous, that he had not rather excuſe and even ſanctify, than allow one, who deſerved ſo well of Images, and the Worſhippers of Images, to be guilty of any.

Upon the Death of Conſtantine *ſeveral aſpire to the Empire.*

Irene, having ſeized on the Empire in the Manner we have ſeen, made it her Study to gain the Affections of the Soldiery and the People, of the Soldiery by Largeſſes, of the People by remitting or leſſening the Taxes, and pretending great Zeal for the Worſhip of Images. But as the Royal Family was extinct, *Conſtantine* having, at the Inſtigation of his Mother, put all to Death, who had, from their Birth, any Claim to the Crown, the Nobility were all underhand buſy in forming Parties, and contriving the Means of raiſing themſelves to the Empire, for which each of them thought himſelf better qualified than a Woman. *Stauracius*, *Irene*'s favourite Miniſter, had gained great Part of the Army with a Deſign of depoſing her, and placing himſelf on the Throne in her Room. But he dying before his Deſign was quite ripe for Execution, an Eunuch, named *Aetius*, in whom *Irene* placed an entire Confidence, and whom ſhe had raiſed to the Rank of Patrician, undertook to get his Brother *Leo* preferred to the Imperial Dignity, being excluded from it himſelf as an Eunuch. He had procured, with that View, the Government of *Thrace* and *Macedon* for his Brother as well as the Command of the Troops quartered in thoſe two Provinces, and engaged, by his Generoſity, the reſt of the Army to ſecond, when an Opportunity

tunity offered, his ambitious Deſigns. Depending upon them he began to act more like a Sovereign than a Subject, diſpoſing of all the Employments both civil and military to his Friends without conſulting *Irene*, or ſo much as acquainting her with it. His Conduct gave her great Umbrage; but ſuſpecting all about her alike, ſhe reſolved to recur to *Charlemagne*, who, ſhe was informed, had been lately proclaimed by the *Romans* Emperor of the Weſt; to conclude, upon the beſt Terms ſhe could, a Treaty of Alliance and Friendſhip with that warlike Prince, and engage him by that Means to maintain her on the Throne. This Reſolution ſhe took the more readily, as *Charlemagne* was then making great military Preparations with a Deſign, as was believed, to invade the Iſland of *Sicily*, and it was publicly ſaid at *Conſtantinople* that ſo important a War required an Emperor. The Perſon ſhe choſe to employ on that Occaſion, and ſend into *France* was *Leo*, Captain of her Guards; and as in him ſhe placed an entire Confidence, ſhe privately charged him to propoſe a Marriage between her and *Charlemagne*, not that ſhe intended ſuch a Marriage ſhould ever take Place, but hoping ſhe ſhould thus not only divert him from making War on the Empire, which ſhe was ſenſible would end in her Ruin, but engage him to eſpouſe her Cauſe, and undertake, with great Zeal, her Protection againſt all her Enemies both domeſtic and foreign. The Propoſal was quite unexpected, but received, as we may well imagine, by *Charlemagne* with the greateſt Satisfaction. To marry *Irene* was uniting at once both Empires in his Perſon, and acquiring more extenſive Dominions, without ſtriking a Blow, than he could promiſe himſelf from a long War however ſucceſsful. He therefore not only conſented to ſo advantageous a Propoſal, but impatient to ſee himſelf veſted with ſo extenſive a Power, he ſent back with the Embaſſador, whom he had entertained for ſome Time with the greateſt Magnificence, *Jeſſe*, Biſhop of *Amiens*, and a Count named *Helingaude*, to remove the Difficulties, that might be ſtarted at the Court of *Conſtantinople* to obſtruct the Match, and put the laſt Hand, in his Name, to the Treaty. His Embaſſadors were accompanied by a Nuncio from the Pope, who, being acquainted by him with the Propoſal of *Irene*, was no leſs impatient than he to ſee it brought to a happy Iſſue, ſenſible that were *Charlemagne* Maſter of the eaſtern Empire, he ſhould, under him, hold undiſturbed his temporal Dominions in *Italy*, which the *Greeks* ſtill claimed, and at the ſame Time ſee his Autho-

Year of Chriſt 801.

Irene *recurs to* Charlemagne.

Cauſes a Marriage to be propoſed between him and her.

Year of Chriſt 801.

rity, which was but very little regarded in the Eaſt, as much reſpected there, even by his haughty Rival the Patriarch of the Imperial City, as it was reſpected by all in the Weſt.

The great Lords of the Empire alarmed at the Propoſal.

The Embaſſadors were, in Appearance, received by *Irene* with uncommon Marks of Joy; and without Loſs of Time they entered, in Conjunction with the Pope's Nuncio, upon the Subject of their Embaſſy. They propoſed a Marriage between the Empreſs of the Eaſt, and the Emperor of the Weſt, and an Union of the two Empires as highly advantagious to both. The Propoſal alarmed *Aetius*, and all the great Lords of the Court, well appriſed that ſuch a Marriage, ſhould it ever take Place, as they apprehended it might, not being privy to the true Deſign of *Irene*, would defeat all their Meaſures at once, and leave them no Hopes of raiſing themſelves, even upon her Demiſe, to the Throne. They therefore left nothing unattempted they could think of to divert her from hearkening to a Propoſal, which they ſaid ſhe could not agree to without expoſing herſelf to the Danger of forfeiting the Power ſhe at preſent enjoyed, and with it the Crown; ſince the King of the *Franks*, accuſtomed to govern alone, would engroſs the whole Power to himſelf, and the *Greeks*, however pleaſed with her Adminiſtration, would chuſe rather to drive her from the Throne, than ſuffer themſelves to be thus excluded from the Imperial Dignity, and governed by a Stranger, nay by an open and avowed Enemy both to them and the Empire. But *Irene* ſtill pretending, chiefly with a Deſign to awe the Eunuch *Aetius*, who ruled with an abſolute Sway, to be rather inclined than averſe to the propoſed Marriage, ſeveral of the Nobility, thinking they could by no other Means, but by depoſing her, prevent their being governed either by a Stranger, or an Eunuch, reſolved to depoſe her accordingly, and to raiſe one of their own Body to the Empire in her Room.

Reſolve to depoſe her. Year of Chriſt 802.

The Perſon they choſe was the Patrician *Nicephorus*; and having appointed the 30th of *October* for the Execution of their Deſign, they repaired, in the Evening of that Day, to the great Palace, pretending, as *Irene* did not reſide there, that they came from her; that ſhe, no longer able to bear with the inſolent and haughty Behaviour of the Eunuch *Aetius*, had reſolved, in the End, to take a Partner in the Empire capable of curbing his Inſolence; that ſhe had choſen for that Purpoſe the Patrician *Nicephorus*, and charged them to place him on the Throne. As they were all Perſons of the greateſt

Distinction, the Soldiery, who guarded the Palace, suspecting no Deceit, not only admitted but joined them, proclaiming, without further Enquiry, *Nicephorus* Emperor. Hereupon proper Persons were immediately dispatched by the Conspirators into the different Quarters of the City with the News of the Election of *Nicephorus*; and they gave every-where out that *Irene* herself had chosen him for her Partner in the Empire, Thus was *Nicephorus*, before Midnight, acknowleged Emperor by the whole City, and without the least Opposition, the Conspirators having taken Care to place Guards in all the Avenues to the Palace of *Eleutherius*, where the Empress resided, to prevent her from receiving any Intelligence of what passed, or contradicting what they gave out. Early next Morning the new Emperor was solemnly crowned in the Church of St. *Sophia*, a strong Body of Troops being first sent to surround on all Sides the Palace of the Empress, with a strict Charge to suffer none to go out, or to enter it. Thus she was kept closely confined that whole Day under the painful Uncertainty of her Lot, quite ignorant of what passed in the City, but suspecting the worst. The Day following the new Emperor, having caused the Empress to be conveyed, under a strong Guard, to the great Palace, repaired thither attended by almost all the Nobility, and entering the Apartment, to which he had confined her, he addressed her with great outward Respect, telling her, that the Nobility and the People, thinking the Empire should be governed by an Emperor, had offered it to him, and forced him, as those, who attended him, could witness, to accept of the Offer; that he appeared before her without any of the Badges of his new Dignity, and would not assume them without her Consent, and therefore begged she would consent to his wearing them, and at the same Time discover to him the Treasures of the Empire, that he might dispose of them according to the Exigency of the State.

Year of Christ 802.

Nicephorus *raised to the Throne and solemnly crowned.*

She answered without betraying the least Concern or Uneasiness, that she ascribed the present, as she had done all her other Misfortunes, to her Sins; that since God had been pleased, in his infinite Justice and Wisdom, to depose her, and raise him to the Empire in her Room, she adored his Providence, and readily submitted to his Will; that she begged one Favour, which she flattered herself he would not refuse her, *viz.* that he would allow her to spend the rest of her Days, as a private Person, in the Palace of *Eleutherius*, since she herself had built it, and that upon his promising to comply with

The Behaviour of Irene *on this Occasion.*

Year of Christ 802. that Request, which she hoped he would not think unreasonable, she should discover and deliver up to him, without concealing or reserving for herself the smallest Sum, the Treasures of the Empire. *Nicephorus* bound himself by a solemn Oath to grant her, upon that Condition, her Request. But no sooner had she put him in Possession of the Treasures, than the Emperor apprehending, as he was well acquainted with her unbounded Ambition, her Craft and her intriguing Genius, that notwithstanding her pretended Resignation to the Will of God, she would be ever plotting to recover her former Dignity, the rather, as the Friends of Images were all her Friends, that is, the Bulk of the People and the Clergy, and the whole Body of Monks, to prevent the Disturbances she might raise by their Means, he banished her first to the Isle of *Prince* not far from *Constantinople*, and soon after to that of *Lesbos*, where she died of Grief the following Year, being strictly guarded Day and Night, and none allowed to approach her, or afford her the least Comfort in her Affliction[f]. *Irene* was, it must be owned, a Woman of most extraordinary Parts, scarce to be matched for her Abilities and Address by any of her own Sex, and by very few of ours; but one, who stuck at nothing, committing without Remorse the blackest Crimes, to gratify her Ambition. Had she with as much Zeal opposed as she promoted the Worship of Images, the unparallelled Wickedness of such a Monster would have supplied the Monkish Writers with ample Matter for Invectives, and she would have met with no Quarter at their Hands. But as she promoted that Superstition, they have not only spared her, but filled their Writings with her Praises, her Zeal for the reigning Superstition counterbalancing with them, and covering the Multitude of her Crimes.

She is banished and dies.

Year of Christ 803.

A solemn Embassy sent by the new Emperor to Charlemagne. This unexpected Revolution happened while the Embassadors, sent by *Charlemagne* to conclude the Marriage between him and *Irene*, were still in *Constantinople*; and it utterly defeated all their Measures, and the ambitious Views of their Master. However the new Emperor was no sooner settled on the Throne than he sent for them, and receiving them in a most obliging Manner, assured them, that he intended ever to maintain a sincere Friendship with the King of the *Franks*; and not satisfied with charging them to acquaint their Master with his pacific Disposition, he sent with them on their Return to *France* a Bishop and three Abbots with the Character of his Em-

[f] Theoph. ad ann. Ir. iter. Iperatric. 5. & Niceph. 1.

bassadors,

baſſadors, and full Power to conclude a laſting Peace between the two Nations. The Embaſſadors were well received by *Charlemagne*, and a Peace was concluded on the following Terms: 1. That the *Greeks* ſhould acknowlege *Charlemagne* for Emperor of the Weſt, and allow him that Title. 2. That they ſhould afford no kind of Aſſiſtance to the Dukes of *Benevento*, who depending upon their Friendſhip and Protection were ever raiſing new Diſturbances in *Italy*. 3. That the weſtern Empire ſhould not extend beyond the Dukedom of *Benevento*, and conſequently that the remaining Part of *Italy*, lying between that Dukedom and the Streights of *Meſſina*, with the Iſland of *Sicily*, ſhould belong to the eaſtern Empire, and be peaceably poſſeſſed by *Nicephorus*, and his Succeſſors in the Imperial Throne g.

Year of Chriſt 803.

And Peace concluded between the two Empires.

Charlemagne received the Embaſſadors at *Saltz* in *Alſace*; and while he was yet there News was brought him, that a Spunge was diſcovered at *Mantua*, ſteeped in the Blood of our Saviour, which was ſtill freſh, and wrought great Miracles. It was ſuppoſed, upon what Foundation I know not, to have been left there by the *Roman* Soldier, who pierced our Saviour's Side with a Spear, and is now honoured in the Church of *Rome* as a Saint under the Name of *Longinus*. This important Piece of Intelligence *Charlemagne* immediately imparted to the Pope, deſiring him to repair to *Mantua*, to inquire there into the Truth of the Matter, and acquaint him therewith. In Compliance with his Deſire the Pope ſet out without Delay for *Mantua*, and being on his Arrival there fully ſatisfied as to the Authenticity of the Relique, (for he himſelf ſaw both the Blood and the Spunge, and the ſame Spunge, or another like it, is ſeen and worſhipped there to this Day) he gave Notice thereof to *Charlemagne*, expreſſing at the ſame Time a great Deſire to celebrate with him, where-ever he pleaſed, the Feſtival of the Nativity of our Saviour. *Charlemagne* choſe *Quiercy*, and ſending his Son *Charles*, King of *Neuſtria*, as far as *St. Maurice* in *Valais* to meet his Holineſs, he went himſelf from *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he then was, to *Reims*, received the Pope there with extraordinary Marks of Friendſhip and Eſteem, and went from thence together with him to *Quiercy*. There they kept their Chriſtmas, and both repairing from thence to *Aix*, *Charlemagne* after ſpending eight Days in that Place

A miraculous Spunge diſcovered at Mantua.

Interview between the Pope and Charlemagne.

g Eginhard. in vit. Carol. Mag. & Monach. Sangallenſ. de rebus bellicis Carol. Mag.

with

Year of Christ 803.

with the Pope, dismissed him loaded with rich Presents, and accompanied by some of the chief Nobility, who were ordered to attend him, as he proposed returning through *Bavaria*, as far as *Ravenna* [h].

The King of Northumberland *driven from his Kingdom.*

Year of Christ 808.

From this Time we find nothing in History of *Leo*, nothing at least worthy of Notice, till the Year 808, when he is said to have restored, jointly with the Emperor *Charlemagne*, *Eardulph*, King of *Northumberland*, driven out by his Subjects, to his Kingdom. Of this Event *Eginhard* gives us the following Account: *In the mean Time*, says he, *the King of the* Northumbrians, *by Name* Eardulph, *being driven from his Kingdom and Country, came from the Island of* Britain *to the Emperor, and having acquainted him with the Affair he came upon, he goes to* Rome, *and returning from thence is restored to his Kingdom by the Legates of the Pope and our Lord the Emperor* [i]. *Baronius* adds, "the King was restored without Opposition, all deeming it a Crime not to obey the *Roman* Pontiff, "or to oppose so great an Emperor. Here you have seen, continues the Annalist, addressing his Reader, the Authority of the "*Roman* Pontiff expressed in Deeds. For the Emperor, sensible of "his own Want of Authority to restore the deposed King, and "knowing he might be restored by the Authority of the Pope, he "sent him to *Rome* to the Pope to be restored by his Authority to "his Kingdom and Dignity. Here you have likewise seen what "great Regard the *English* paid to the Pope; for however enraged "against their King, however inflamed with the Desire of reigning, "they did not refuse to receive the very King, whom they had driven out, but immediately obeyed [k]." Thus *Baronius*. But not the least Notice is taken by any of our Historians of the Restoration of *Eardulph*; nay, they rather seem to suppose, that he never was restored; for they tell us, that the Kingdom of *Northumberland* continued involved in the utmost Confusion, and in a State of Anarchy, from the Death of *Ethelred*, murdered in 794, to the Year 827, when *Egbert*, King of the *West Saxons*, got Possession of that Kingdom [l]. In the Chronicle of *Mailros* Notice is taken of the Expulsion of *Eardulph*, and it is said there, that upon his Expulsion the Kingdom of *Northumberland* continued many Years

Whether restored by the Pope.

[h] Annal. Metens. [i] Eginhard. in Annal. [k] Bar. ad ann. 808. p. 549. 950. [l] Malmsb. de gest. Reg. Angl. l. 1. c. 3. Vide Harpsfield Hist. Eccl. secul. 8. c. 21.

without

Year of Christ 808.

without a King[m]; and M. *Weſtminſter* tells us, that *Alwold*, who drove *Eardulph* from the Throne, dying after a Reign of two Years only was ſucceeded by *Eandred*, who reigned 32 Years[n]. Our Hiſtorians therefore knew nothing of the Reſtoration of *Eardulph*, but ſuppoſe, on the contrary, that he never was reſtored. Some foreign Writers indeed tell us that he was reſtored; but they either aſcribe his Reſtoration equally to the Pope and the Emperor, or to the Emperor alone. He was reſtored, ſays *Eginhard*, by the Legates of the Pope and our Lord the Emperor[o]. The depoſed and baniſhed King, ſay *Ado* and *Aventinus*[p], repaired to the Court of *Charlemagne*, went from thence in Pilgrimage to *Rome*, and on his Return from that City was attended by the Embaſſadors of the Pope and the Emperor into *Britain*. But *Sigebert*, taking no Notice of the Pope, only ſays, that the King of the *Northumbrians* was reſtored by the Emperor *Charlemagne* to his Kingdom and his Country[q]. Upon the Whole therefore, either *Eardulph* never was reſtored, or if he was, his Reſtoration was owing, not to the Authority, but to the Interpoſition and good Offices of the Pope and the Emperor, or of the Emperor alone; and *Baronius* might at leaſt as well have alleged his Reſtoration as an Inſtance of the ſovereign Power of the Emperor over the Kingdoms and Princes of *England*, as of the ſovereign Power of the Pope.

The Queſtion concerning the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt revived.

About this Time was moved, or rather was revived a Queſtion in *France*, that in the following Centuries made a great Noiſe in the Church; *viz.* whether the Holy Ghoſt proceeded from the Father and the Son, or only from the Father. I ſay *revived*, the ſame Queſtion having been propoſed and diſcuſſed in the Council held under *Pepin* at *Gentilli* in 767, as has been related above[r]. The Acts of that Council have been long ſince loſt; but it is highly probable it was there declared, that the Holy Ghoſt proceeded from the Father and the Son; for ſuch was, at this Time, the Doctrine of the *Gallican* Church. The Fathers of the four firſt Centuries ſeem to have all held the ſame Doctrine; but it had not yet been defined by any General Council. The firſt Council of *Conſtantinople* had indeed added to the Symbol of *Nice*, that the Holy Ghoſt proceeded from the Father, but did not determine whether he proceeded, in

[m] Rer. Anglican. Script. apud Gal. vol. 2. p. 141. [n] M. Weſtm. Flor. Hiſt. Ang. p. 152. [o] Eginhard. ubi ſupra. [p] Ado Vien. Chron. ad ann. 809. Aventin. Annal. Boior. l. 4. p. 210. [q] Sigeb. Chron. ad ann. 808. [r] See above, p. 7.

like

Year of Chriſt 808.

like manner, from the Son. However in the 5th and 6th Centuries the Churches of *Spain* added to the Symbol of *Nice* and *Conſtantinople* the Words *and from the Son.* Their Example was followed by moſt of the *Gallican* Churches, where the Symbol was read and ſung in their Service with that Addition. But a Monk of *Paleſtine*, by Name *John*, having, at this Time, declared for the oppoſite Opinion, and gained a great many Followers, the Queſtion, *whether the Holy Ghoſt proceeded only from the Father?* was revived and anew debated in *France*. Whether the Monk came himſelf into that Kingdom, or only ſome of his Diſciples, we know not; but certain it is, that ſeveral there, hearing the Arguments, that were alleged in Favour of his Opinion, began to waver and queſtion the Truth of the Doctrine, which they had, till then, held and profeſſed[s]. *Charlemagne* therefore to prevent the Miſunderſtanding and Diviſion, that might be thereby occaſioned amongſt the Biſhops and Clergy of his Kingdom, thought it adviſeable to have the Point in Diſpute timely decided by a Council; and he aſſembled one accordingly at *Aix-la-Chapelle* in the Month of *November* of the following Year 809. As none aſſiſted at this Council from the Pope, nor indeed was any Notice given him of its meeting, the Point in Diſpute was fairly debated, and the Reaſons for and againſt the two oppoſite Opinions patiently heard, and impartially examined. The Diſturbances and Diſagreement we read of amongſt the Biſhops in moſt other Councils, were owing to the Intrigues of the Legates of the Popes, their Holineſſes having before-hand decided the Point in Controverſy at *Rome*, and charged their Legates to get their Deciſion by all Means approved by the Council, or at leaſt to approve no other. For it was not only to the Council of *Trent*, but to moſt other Councils, that the Pope's Legates carried the Holy Ghoſt in their Cloak-bags.

And decided in a Council at Aix-la-Chapelle. Year of Chriſt 809.

Conference between the Pope and the Envoys of Charlemagne.

What was the Deciſion of the preſent Council Hiſtory does not inform us. But as *Charlemagne* wrote, on that Occaſion, a long Letter to the Pope, filled with an infinite Number of Paſſages from the Old and New Teſtament, as well as from the Fathers, ſhowing, or calculated to ſhow, that the Holy Ghoſt proceeded from the Father and the Son, there is no Room to doubt but that was the Doctrine defined by the Council. With that Letter the Emperor diſpatched to *Rome Bernard* or *Bernair* Biſhop of *Worms*, and *Adelar* Abbot of *Corbie*, who had two long Conferences with the Pope; and both

[s] Eginhard. in Annal. Ado in Chron.

turned

turned upon theſe two Points; whether it was an Article of Faith, that the Holy Ghoſt proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father? And whether the Words *and from the Son*, *filioque*, might be added to the Symbol, and the Symbol might be read in the public Service, or ſung, with that Addition, as was practiſed, at this Time, by the *Gallican* Church? In Anſwer to the firſt Queſtion the Pope, having heard with great Attention, *diligentiſſime auditis*, the Authorities the Envoys produced to ſatisfy him that the Doctrine of the *Gallican* Church was entirely agreeable to the Doctrine of the Scriptures and the Fathers, allowed it to be an Article of Faith that the Holy Ghoſt proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father, and at the ſame Time declared that he would communicate with none, who held or profeſſed the oppoſite Opinion. Since you allow it to be an Article of Faith, replied the Envoys, are we not bound publicly to teach it, that they, who are ignorant of it, may know it, and they be confirmed in it, who know it? You are bound to teach it, anſwered the Pope. But can one be ſaved, ſaid the Envoys, who either does not know this Doctrine, or does not believe it? Whoever has heard it, replied the Pope, and has Penetration enough to underſtand it, but yet will not believe it, cannot be ſaved. In our holy Faith there are many profound Myſteries, which ſome do, and ſome do not underſtand for want of Age or Capacity; and I therefore ſay, that whoever underſtands that Doctrine, but will not believe it, cannot be ſaved. *Leo* was, as is manifeſt from this Anſwer, of Opinion that no Man is bound to believe what he cannot underſtand. But by his Succeſſors Men are daily damned for not believing Myſteries, which they themſelves own to be incomprehenſible, that is, quite unintelligible. Since we are bound to teach the preſent Doctrine, anſwered the Envoys, have we, or have we not done amiſs in adding it to the Symbol, and cauſing it to be read and ſung there in our Service? We know that the Words *and from the Son* were not put into the Symbol by the Council, that compoſed it, and are not ignorant that the following Councils forbad any new Symbol to be made, or any Thing to be added to, to be ſtruck out of, or to be changed in the preſent Symbol. But had they added the abovementioned Words, we ſhould, in that Caſe, be allowed both to read and to ſing them in our Service. And are they not to blame for not adding them, ſince by the Addition of four Syllables only, *filioque*, *and from the Son*, they would have made known to all

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future Ages ſo important a Myſtery? Had they added them, replied the Pope, they might both be read and ſung in the Service: But as I dare not ſay they would have done amiſs had they added them, neither dare I ſay they did amiſs in omitting them, and forbidding them, or any other Words whatever to be added to their Symbol. They were guided and directed not by human Wiſdom, but by Wiſdom from above. But you ſeem to entertain a mighty Opinion of yourſelves. As for me, far from preferring myſelf to them, I ſhould think it the Height of Preſumption to put myſelf upon the Level with them. Far be it from us, ſaid the Envoys here, to think otherwiſe of ourſelves: We mean no more than to be uſeful to our Brethren; and as many have learnt that Myſtery by hearing it read and ſung in the Symbol, who otherwiſe never would have known it, we think it ſhould rather be added to the Symbol, than ſo many Thouſands be left in their Ignorance. Here the Pope asked them, whether they were for adding to the Symbol all the Articles of the Catholic Faith, that were not contained in it? And upon their anſwering that they were not all alike neceſſary to Salvation, he maintained that ſome however were, but being preſſed by the Envoys to point them out, he deſired Time to recollect them, that nothing might be advanced raſhly on ſo important a Subject. And thus ended the firſt Day's Conference.

The Pope will not allow the Words and from the Son *to be added to the Symbol.*

The next Day the Conference was reſumed, when the Pope to prove by Inſtances the Truth of what he had advanced the Day before, asked the Envoys whether they thought it more neceſſary to believe, or more dangerous not to believe that the Holy Ghoſt proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father, than that the Son was the Wiſdom begotten of the Wiſdom, was the Truth begotten of the Truth, and yet that the Father and the Son were by Nature but one Wiſdom, one Truth. They could not, he ſaid, think it more neceſſary to believe, or more dangerous to disbelieve the one Article than the other; and yet they were not, as he ſuppoſed, for adding the one Article to the Symbol as well as the other, elſe they muſt add many others no leſs important, that would ſwell the Symbol to an immoderate Length. The Envoys pleaded the Practice of their Churches; adding, that were they now to ſtrike it out of the Symbol, the Rule of their Faith, the People would no longer deem it an Article of Faith, but rather conclude the oppoſite Doctrine to be the Belief and the Doctrine of the Church. To remedy that Evil

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Evil the Pope propoſed the following Expedient, *viz.* not to ſtrike out of the Symbol the Words *and from the Son* every-where at once, which he ſaid might give Offence, and make a great Noiſe; but only to forbear reading it with that Addition in the King's Chapel, ſince a Practice, once eſtabliſhed there, would ſoon become general, and be readily adopted by all other Churches[t]. Whether the *Gallican* Church continued to keep thoſe Words in, or ſtruck them out of the Symbol agreeably to the Practice of the *Roman* Church and the Advice of the Pope, we know not. But as for the Pope himſelf, to ſhow that he did not approve of that Addition, he cauſed two Tables of Silver to be ſet up at the Tomb of St. *Peter*, and the Symbol to be engraved in *Greek* on the one, and on the other in *Latin* without the Words *and from the Son*[u], which however were by his Succeſſors afterwards added to the Symbol, on what Occaſion we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

The Emperor Nicephorus *killed.* Year of Chriſt 811.

In the mean Time in the Eaſt was killed in Battle by the *Bulgarians* the Emperor *Nicephorus*; and with him was cut off almoſt the whole Army, and the Flower of the Nobility of the Empire. His Body being found among the Slain, the King of the *Bulgarians*, having cauſed his Head to be cut off, and kept it ſome Time expoſed to the View and the Inſults of his Soldiery, encloſed the Skull in Silver, and uſed it thus encloſed inſtead of a Cup. *Nicephorus* is ſaid to have befriended the *Manichees* and the *Athingani*(K), and to have exceeded all the Princes, who reigned before him, in Lewdneſs, Cruelty and Avarice. But it is to be obſerved, that he favoured the Iconoclaſts; that he taxed the Clergy as well as the Laity; that he took the Veſſels of Silver and Gold from the Churches to defray the Expences of the Wars he waged with the Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion and the Empire; that purſuant to the Decree of a Council held at *Conſtantinople* he baniſhed ſeveral Monks, and among the

[t] Concil. t. 7. p. 1194. Bar. ad ann. 609. p. 566. [u] Anaſt. in Leon. 3.

(K) The *Athingani* were a Race of People, who wandering from their native Country, *Phrygia* and *Lycaonia*, firſt into *Egypt*, and from thence into moſt other Countries, lived by Soothſaying and telling of Fortunes. From the Word *Athingani*, *Goarus* derives the *Italian* Word *Zingari*, in *Engliſh Gypſies*, and pretends the pilfering Straglers, whom the *Italians* call *Zingari*, and we call *Gypſies* or *Egyptians*, to come originally from them (1). The *Athingani* were baptized, but conformed in every Thing elſe to the Law of *Moſes* and the Ceremonies of the *Jews* (2). The Emperor *Michael*, ſurnamed *Balbus*, is ſaid to have been of that Sect (3).

(1) Goar. in not. ad hunc locum.) Conſtantin. Porphyrogen, l. 2. n. 3.
(3) Idem ibid.

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reſt the two great Saints *Theodore Studita* and *Plato* for raiſing Diſturbances in the Church, and laſtly, that he drove from the Throne the great Patroneſs of Images St. *Irene*, deprived her of the Power ſhe had acquired by the Murder of her Son, and ſent her into Exile. *Nicephorus* being dead, *Michael* ſurnamed *Rhangabe* (the Name of his Grandfather) who had married *Procopia*, the late Emperor's Daughter, was by the Senate, and the few Officers, who had eſcaped the general Slaughter, proclaimed Emperor in his Room, and on the 5th of *October* of the preſent Year ſolemnly crowned by the Patriarch[w]. He enriched with magnificent Preſents the Churches and Monaſteries; recalled from Exile and ſet at Liberty the Monks, whom his Predeceſſor had baniſhed or confined; iſſued an Edict commanding the *Manichees* to be put to the Sword throughout the Empire, and moved with divine Zeal ſpared none, who oppoſed the Worſhip of Images, or refuſed to worſhip them; cauſed an Hermit, who had impiouſly preſumed to take down an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, to be apprehended, and his Tongue to be plucked out, which was attended with the Death both of his Body and his Soul; allowed no Liberty of Conſcience, but obliged all to profeſs the ſame Faith, ſhewing no Mercy to thoſe, who diſſented from the Church, and was therefore a Prince, or is repreſented by the Writers of thoſe Times as a Prince, in whom centered all Virtues without the Allay of one ſingle Vice.

Michael Rhangabe *raiſed to the Throne.*

The Patriarch Nicephorus *writes to the Pope.* Year of Chriſt 812.

He was no ſooner raiſed to the Throne than *Nicephorus*, who had ſucceeded *Taraſius* in the See of *Conſtantinople* ever ſince the Year 806, but had not been allowed by the late Emperor to keep any Correſpondence with *Rome*, wrote a long Letter to the Pope to acquaint him with his Promotion, to give him an Account of his Faith, which he ſaid was entirely agreeable to that of the *Roman* Church, the Mother of all Churches, and to beg his Communion. From his Letter it appears, that he had ſucceeded *Taraſius* in the Office of Secretary to *Conſtantine* and *Irene*, and that tired of the World he had reſigned his Employment and retired to the Deſart, but upon the Death of *Taraſius* had been recalled by the Emperor *Nicephorus* to *Conſtantinople*, and obliged, tho' yet a Layman, to accept of the patriarchal Dignity[x]. He pleaded for his not writing ſooner, as he ought to have done, and would have done with great Pleaſure, the Prohibition of the Emperor jealous of any Intercourſe between the

[w] Theoph. ad ann. Mich. 1. [x] Ep. Niceph. apud Bar. ad ann. 811. p. 582.

two

two Sees; and with his Letter he ſent, as a Preſent to his Fellow Biſhop, a rich *Encolpium*, that is, a Reliquary in the Form of a Croſs containing a Piece of the true Croſs, or the Reliques of ſome Saint[y]. Theſe *Encolpiums* Biſhops uſed to wear in thoſe Days hanging from their Necks. The Patriarch takes Care to declare, with great Zeal, for the Worſhip of Images as a Practice coeval with the Chriſtian Religion, and does not at all doubt but that he ſhall ſoon have the Satisfaction of ſeeing it univerſally eſtabliſhed by the vigilant Care and indefatigable Zeal of the moſt religious Emperor, who ſeems to have been ſent down for that Purpoſe from Heaven. Year of Chriſt 812.

But that Satisfaction the good Patriarch never enjoyed, the moſt religious Emperor reſigning the Empire, when he had held it ſcarce two Years, and another, as zealous an Enemy to Images as he was a Friend, being raiſed to the Throne in his Room. For *Michael* being moſt ſhamefully defeated by the *Bulgarians* with the Loſs of almoſt his whole Army, he was affected with that Misfortune to ſuch a Degree, that he reſolved to quit the Empire, and reſign it to one more capable of defending it than himſelf. The Perſon he choſe was *Leo*, ſurnamed from his Country the *Armenian*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all Occaſions by his Courage and Conduct, and was deemed at that Time the beſt Commander in the whole Empire. But *Leo* oppoſed his Choice; and he was the only Perſon in the Empire, who oppoſed it; nor could he be prevailed upon to yield to the earneſt Entreaties of the Senate, the Patriarch, and the Soldiery till News was brought him, that the King of the *Bulgarians*, elated with his late Succeſs, was advancing with long Marches to the Imperial City. He then accepted the Empire to ſave it, and was ſolemnly crowned by the Patriarch amidſt the loud Acclamations of the People; which *Michael* no ſooner underſtood, than he retired with his Wife and his Children to the Monaſtery of *Pharus*, and there they all took the monaſtic Habit, leſt living in the World they ſhould give Occaſion of Jealouſy to the new Emperor. In the mean Time the King of the *Bulgarians* advancing to the very Gates of the Imperial City, *Leo* marched out againſt him with the few Troops, that had eſcaped the late Slaughter, and obliged him to retire. He withdrew to *Adrianople*, and having cloſely beſieged that City he reduced it

Michael *reſigns the Empire to* Leo the Armenian. Year of Chriſt 813.

[y] Vide Ducang. ad Alexiad. Annæ Comnenæ, p. 247, & ſeq.

laſt [z] (Z).

Year of Christ 813.

laſt[z] (L). With theſe Words *Theophanes* cloſes his Chronography begun with the firſt Year of the Reign of *Diocleſian* (M). Of the Zeal of the new Emperor for the Purity of the Chriſtian Religion, and his indefatigable Endeavours to baniſh from the Church and the Empire the Worſhip of Images, which he thought inconſiſtent with that Purity, I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak in the Sequel. To return in the mean Time to the Weſt.

Charlemagne *dies.* Year of Chriſt 814.

The following Year 814, died at *Aix-la-Chapelle* the great Friend of the Popes, and the chief Author of their temporal Grandeur the Emperor *Charlemagne* (N); and no ſooner was the News of his Death

[z] Theoph. ad ann. Incar. ſecund. Alexandrin. 805.

(L) Thus *Theophanes*, who lived at this Time in *Conſtantinople*, and was an Eye-witneſs of what he wrote. But the Emperor *Conſtantine Porphyrogennetus*, who reigned in the Beginning of the following Century, gives us a very different Account of the Promotion of *Leo*. For he tells us, that the Emperor had the Advantage in the Engagement with the *Bulgarians* till *Leo*, who aſpired to the Empire, and was ſenſible he could never attain it, ſhould *Michael* return victorious to *Conſtantinople*, drew off the Forces under his Command; which ſo diſheartened the Imperial Troops, that they immediately betook themſelves to a diſorderly Flight, and left the *Bulgarians* Maſters of the Field. He adds, that the Emperor from the Field of Battle fled to *Conſtantinople*, and that *Leo*, by inveighing againſt him, in his Abſence, as a weak, effeminate and cowardly Prince, prevailed on the Soldiery to offer the Empire to him. Thus *Porphyrogennetus*, and after him *Cedrenus* with the whole Tribe of the more modern Writers both *Greek* and *Latin*, all prejudiced to ſuch a Degree againſt *Leo*, on account of his Averſion to Images, as to prefer the Authority of an Hiſtorian, who lived an hundred Years after thoſe Times, and was no leſs biaſſed than they, to that of one, who lived at that very Time, who was an Eye-witneſs of what he wrote, and whoſe Teſtimony on all other Occaſions they quote as deciſive. *Porphyrogennetus* himſelf owns that according to ſome Writers, the Emperor's Guards and thoſe about him, were the firſt, who fled; that *Leo* fought valiantly, and that the Emperor, in retiring from the Army, left *Leo* behind him as a Bulwark to awe the Barbarians, and reſtrain them from ravaging the Country and deſtroying the Inhabitants (1).

(M) The Chronography of *Theophanes* was continued by the following Writers, viz. *Leo*, ſurnamed the *Grammarian*, who was contemporary with thoſe, whoſe Actions he relates; an anonymous Author, who wrote the moſt remarkable Events of the Reign of the preſent Emperor *Leo the Armenian*, and is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed in his Time; the Emperor *Conſtantine Porphyrogennetus*, who was raiſed to the Empire in the Beginning of the tenth Century; *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, and a Monk named *George*. But, with reſpect to theſe Writers, it is to be obſerved, that they were all no leſs zealous Advocates for the Worſhip of Images than *Theophanes* himſelf, and conſequently no leſs biaſſed in Favour of thoſe, who promoted that Worſhip, than prejudiced againſt all, who oppoſed it. Hence we ſhall frequently find the beſt of Men, who were Enemies to Images, painted by them, without any Regard to Truth or to Conſcience, as the worſt, and the worſt, who were, or pretended to be, Friends to Images, repreſented and extolled as the beſt.

(N) He died on the 28th of *January*, and was buried the ſame Day. Indeed that Cuſtom obtained, generally ſpeaking,

(1) Porphyr. ad ann. 1. Leon.

during

Death brought to *Rome*, than the Relations of the late Pope *Hadrian* and their Partiſans, who had uſed the preſent Pope with ſo much Barbarity in the Beginning of his Pontificate, conſpired againſt him anew with a Deſign not only to depoſe but to murder him. But the Plot being diſcovered before it was ripe for Execution, the Pope cauſed all, who were concerned in it, to be apprehended, and put to Death without Mercy. This Severity was not at all pleaſing to the new Emperor *Lewis*, ſurnamed the *Debonnaire*, who had ſucceeded his Father *Charlemagne* in the Empire of the Weſt; and he was no ſooner informed of it, than he commanded his Nephew *Bernard*, King of *Italy*, to repair forthwith to *Rome* in order to take Cognisance of the whole Affair upon the Spot. The King, having ſpent ſome Time at *Rome* in examining the Enemies as well as the Friends of the Pope, and receiving the Depoſitions of Men of both Parties, diſpatched Count *Gerholt* with an Account of the Whole into *France*. At the ſame Time the Pope ſent *John* Biſhop, *Theodore* Nomenclator, and Duke *Sergius*, with the Character of his Legates, to juſtify his Conduct to the Emperor, and clear him from the Crimes, that were laid to his Charge; which they are ſaid to have done to the entire Satisfaction of *Lewis*[a]. But the Pope being, in the mean Time, ſeized with a dangerous Malady, the People roſe in a tumultuous Manner, burnt or pulled down all the Farm-houſes he had built in the Country, plundered the Farms, to recover, they ſaid, what had been unjuſtly taken from them, and would have committed great Diſorders in *Rome* itſelf, had they not been prevented by *Winigiſus*,

Year of Chriſt 814.

Conſpiracy againſt the Pope, who puts all to Death concerned in it.

Year of Chriſt 815.

[a] Anaſt. in Leon. III Eginhard. in Annal. ad ann. 815.

during the eight firſt Ages of the Church; and hence the Day, on which even thoſe Popes were buried, who were not buried, as it happened to ſome, till three or four Days after their Death, is marked in ſome Pontificals as the Day of their Death. Over the Tomb of the deceaſed Emperor was raiſed a kind of triumphal Arch with the following Epitaph: *Sub hoc conditorio ſitum eſt corpus Karoli, magni atque Orthodoxi Imperatoris, qui regnum Francorum nobiliter ampliavit, & per annos* XLVII *feliciter tenuit. Deceſſit Septuagenarius anno ab Incarnatione Domini* DCCCXIV. *Indictione* VII. V *Kalend. Februarias.* It is to be obſerved, that in his Epitaph he is not ſurnamed *the Great*, but ſtiled *Charles, great Emperor*; and thus he ſtiled himſelf, in Imitation of the *Greek* Emperors, in all his Diplomas, that are known to be authentic. Thoſe therefore, in which he is called *Charlemagne* or *Charles the Great*, may be juſtly looked upon as ſuppoſititious. *Charlemagne* was, as we have ſeen, no leſs averſe to the Worſhip of Images than the Emperor *Leo* or his Son *Conſtantine*; but yet as he was a Friend to the Popes, as he made it his Study to aggrandize and enrich them, his Hereſy was by them overlooked, and he extolled as a moſt pious, a moſt religious, a moſt Chriſtian Prince at the ſame Time that they inveighed againſt *Leo* and *Conſtantine*, tho' guilty of no other Hereſy, as the worſt of Heretics.

Year of Christ 815. Duke of *Spoleti*, sent by *Bernard*, King of *Italy*, with a Body of Troops to quell and disperse the riotous Multitude[b].

Leo *dies*. Year of Christ 816. The Pope was taken ill in the Beginning of the Year 816; and he died of that Illness on the eleventh of *June*, having borne it the whole Time with great Resignation and exemplary Patience. He had governed the *Roman* Church twenty Years, five Months, and sixteen Days; and being himself enriched by the unparallelled Generosity of *Charlemagne*, he more enriched the Churches of *Rome* with costly and valuable Ornaments than all his Predecessors together. He was buried in the *Vatican*; and in Process of Time an Altar was built over his Tomb, and under the Altar were deposited together with his, the Bodies of *Leo* I. II. and IV. as appears from the Stone that was placed over their Bodies by Pope *Paschal* II. in the Close of the eleventh Century, with the following Epitaph, *Under this Altar lie the Bodies of the holy Pontiffs and Confessors* Leo I. II. III. *and* IV[c]. In the Year 1608. the Bodies of these four Popes were translated by *Paul* V. from the old to the new Church of St. *Peter*; and there they are all four worshipped to this Day[d], tho' *Leo* III. has not yet been honoured with a Place in the Kalendar. Of this Pope we are told, that he used to say seven Masses, and said sometimes nine on one Day[e]. Indeed it was no unusual Thing for a Priest to say what Number of Masses he pleased till the Time of Pope *Alexander* II. who about the Year 1070. restrained all Priests to two Masses only, the one for the Living, and the other for the Dead. They were afterwards confined by *Innocent* III. and *Honorius* III. to one Mass a Day, the Festival of our Saviour's Nativity excepted, when all are still allowed to say three[f].

In Leo's *Time the Right Hand first deemed the most honourable.* It is observable, that in the Time of *Leo* III. the Right Hand began first to be deemed the most honourable, St. *Paul* being constantly placed on the Right Hand of St. *Peter* in all the Mosaic Pieces or Pictures of those two Apostles, that were done before his Time, and as constantly on his Left in all, that were done in his Time. However upon his Death the ancient Custom took Place anew, and the two Apostles were represented in the same Manner after his Time as before it till the Pontificate of *Nicholas* IV. raised to the See in 1288, when the Right Hand was deemed again the most honourable; and so it has continued to be deemed from that Time to the present[g].

[b] Astron. in vit. Ludovic. Pii. [c] Vide Aleman. in pariet. Lateran. c. 10.
[d] Henschen ad diem xi April. [e] Walfrid. Strabo de reb Eccleſiaſt. c. 21.
[f] Vide Card. Bona rer. Liturgic. l. 1. c. 18. & Marten. de Antiquis Eccleſ. ritib. l. 1. c. 3. [g] Vide Papebroc. in Conatu Chron. Hist.

LEO ARMENUS, *Emperor of the East.* Year of Christ 816. LEWIS THE DEBONNAIRE, *Emperor of the West.*

STEPHEN IV.

Ninety-sixth BISHOP *of* Rome.

IN the Room of *Leo* was choſen, after a Vacancy of ten Days, *Stephen* the fourth of that Name. He was a Native of *Rome*, of an illuſtrious Family, had been educated in the *Lateran* under Pope *Hadrian*, and ordained firſt Subdeacon, and afterwards Deacon by *Leo*, who entertained, as well as the People and the reſt of the Clergy, a mighty Opinion of his Virtue and Learning [g]. Stephen *choſen.*

He was no ſooner ordained than he required the whole People of *Rome* to take the ſame Oath of Allegiance to the Emperor *Lewis*, which they had taken, under his Predeceſſors, to his Father *Charlemagne*. At the ſame Time he diſpatched Legates into *France* to acquaint the Emperor with his Promotion, and ſignify to him his earneſt Deſire of conferring with him in Perſon in what Place ſoever he ſhould think fit to appoint [h]. The Emperor readily complied with his Deſire, ordered his Nephew *Bernard*, King of *Italy*, to attend him on his Journey, and having appointed the City of *Reims* for the Place of their Meeting, he repaired thither, in Perſon, as ſoon as he heard of his Arrival in *France*. When the Pope was yet at ſome Diſtance from the City, he ſent out *Hildebald* his firſt Chaplain, *Theodulph* Biſhop of *Orleans*, and *John* Archbiſhop of *Arles*, attended by a great Number of other Eccleſiaſtics, all in their ſacerdotal Attire, to meet him, and went in Perſon, as he approached the City, with all the great Lords of the Court to receive him. He waited his Arrival on Horſe-back at the Monaſtery of St. *Remigius* a little Way out of the City, and diſmounting as his Holineſs approached, he fell three Times proſtrate on the Ground, welcoming him with the Words of the Scripture, *bleſſed is he, who cometh in the Name of the Lord.* The Pope diſmounted at the ſame Time, and raiſing the Emperor from the Ground returned Thanks to the Almighty for granting him the wiſhed for Satisfaction of ſeeing a ſecond King *David*. They then embraced each other with great Affection and Tenderneſs, and walking together, with all their At- *Obliges the* Romans *to take an Oath of Allegiance to* Lewis. *Goes into* France.

[g] Anaſt. in Steph. IV. [h] Thegan. c. 16.

Year of Christ 816.

tendants, to the Church, assisted at the *Te Deum*, which was sung with the utmost Solemnity. After the *Te Deum* they prayed in Silence till the Pope rising up sung a Hymn with his Clergy in Praise of the Emperor, which ended with a Prayer for his Health and his Welfare. From the Church the Pope withdrew with the Emperor into the Monastery, and there acquainted him with the Motives of his Journey, laying before him the State of the Church and the City of *Rome*. As the Pope was not a little fatigued with his Journey, the Emperor, leaving him after a very short Conference, returned to the City [i].

Crowns the Emperor.

The next Day the Emperor made a grand Entertainment for the Pope; and the Day following the Pope made the like Entertainment for the Emperor. One of the chief Motives of the Pope's Journey into *France* was, it seems, to have the Satisfaction of consecrating and crowning the Emperor; and that Ceremony he performed, with great Solemnity the first Sunday after his Arrival at *Reims*. He crowned both the Emperor, and his Wife *Hermenegard*, whom he stiled Empress, with Crowns of Gold, enriched with a great Number of precious Stones, which he had brought with him for that Purpose from *Rome*. He is said to have made many other valuable Presents to the Emperor, and to have received Presents from him in Return three Times their Value [k]. *Anastasius* tells us that the Emperor even gave a Village to St. *Peter* on the Borders of *France* to be for ever possessed by him and his Successors [l]. The Pope, having spent two Months in *France*, frequently conferring with the Emperor about the State of the Church and the Government of *Rome*,

Returns to Rome.

set out from *Reims* in the Beginning of *October* on his Return to *Italy*, accompanied by some of the great Lords of the Court, whom the Emperor had appointed to attend him to *Rome*. Before he left *France* he gave the Pall to *Theodulph*, Bishop of *Orleans*; and thenceforth we find that Prelate constantly distinguished with the Title of Archbishop; tho' Instances are not wanting of Bishops, after as well as before the Time of *Theodulph*, who, tho' distinguished with the Pall, were not distinguished with that Title.

Of this Pope we hear no more till the Time of his Death, which happened on the 24th of *January* 817, about three Months after his

[i] Eginhard. in Annal. Thegan. Auctor. vit. Ludovic. Pii.
[l] Anast. in Steph. IV.
[k] Thegan.

Return to *Rome*, and ſeven after his Promotion. He died, it ſeems, ſuddenly, a Reſcript being ſtill to be ſeen, that was ſigned by him the Day preceding his Death[k]. He is ſaid in the Copies of *Anaſtaſius* by a groſs Miſtake, no doubt of the Tranſcribers, to have held the See ſeven Years and as many Months.

Year of Chriſt 816. Stephen *dies*. Year of Chriſt 817.

LEO ARMENUS, MICHAEL BALBUS, *Emperors of the Eaſt.*

PASCHAL,

LEWIS THE DEBONNAIRE *and* LOTHARIUS, *Emperors of the Weſt.*

Ninety-ſeventh BISHOP *of* Rome.

STEPHEN was buried on the 25th of *January*, the next Day after his Death, and on the ſame Day the Senate, the Clergy and the People choſe with one Voice *Paſchal* in his Room. He was by Birth a *Roman*, the Son of *Bonoſus*, and at the Time of his Election Abbot of the Monaſtery of the Protomartyr St. *Stephen*[l].

Paſchal *choſen*.

The firſt Care of the new Pope was to acquaint the Emperor *Lewis* with his Promotion, and he diſpatched accordingly, as ſoon as he was ordained, his Nomenclator *Theodore* for that Purpoſe into *France*. He was, it ſeems, charged by ſome with having raiſed himſelf, by unlawful Means, to the Chair; for in the Letter he wrote, after his Ordination, to the Emperor, he takes great Pains to ſatisfy him, that far from aſpiring to the Pontifical Dignity, he had declined it till the People forced him, and much againſt his Will, to acquieſce in the Choice they had unanimouſly made. As that Letter is by a contemporary Hiſtorian ſtiled an Apology[m], *Platina* and after him *Ciaconius* ſuppoſe it to have been written by the Pope to apologize for his having ſuffered himſelf to be ordained before his Election was approved by the Emperor. But there was no Decree at this Time either of the Pope or the Emperor of the Weſt forbidding the Pope to be ordained till his Election was notified to and approved by the Emperor. I ſay *of the Emperor of the Weſt*; for that Cuſtom had indeed obtained while the Emperors of the Eaſt were Maſters of *Italy*; and they took Care, as we have ſeen, to have it ſtrictly complied with till the Popes, ſhaking off all Dependence upon them, became their own Maſters. From that Time,

Sends Legates to acquaint the Emperor with his Promotion.

[k] Apud Ducheſn. t. 3. p. 655. [l] Anaſt. in Paſch. [m] Auct. vit. Ludovic. Pii.

Year of Chriſt 817.

that is, from the Time of Pope *Zachary* raiſed to the See in 741, they continued to be ordained, without the Approbation of the Emperor either of the Eaſt or the Weſt, till the Year 825, the ſecond of Pope *Eugene* II. who revived the ancient Cuſtom in Favour of the Emperor *Lotharius* and his Succeſſors in the Empire, as I ſhall relate in the Sequel.

Who confirms the Donations of his Father and Grandfather.

The Emperor received *Theodore* with extraordinary Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, honouring in him the Vicar of St. *Peter*, whom he repreſented, and in the Vicar of St. *Peter* the Apoſtle himſelf; aſſured him of his inviolable Attachment to the apoſtolic See, and declared himſelf unalterably determined to maintain, if neceſſary, with the whole Strength of his Kingdoms, the Prince of the Apoſtles and his Succeſſors, in the quiet Poſſeſſion of all his Father and Grandfather had by their Religion and Piety been prompted to give them[o]. *Lewis* is ſaid to have not only confirmed on this Occaſion but enlarged their Donations, adding by the famous Decree *Ego Ludovicus* the Iſlands of *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily* to the Demains given to St. *Peter* by *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*[p]. But that the Donation of *Lewis* yielding thoſe Iſlands to St. *Peter* is quite of a Piece with the Donation of *Conſtantine the Great* yielding all *Italy* to St. *Peter* may be eaſily demonſtrated. For 1. The Donations of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne* are frequently mentioned by the Popes, but by none of them ever is made the leaſt mention of the pretended Donation of *Lewis*; and he is only commended by them for generouſly confirming the Donations of his Father and Grandfather. 2. The Emperors *Otho* I. and *Henry* I. enumerate all the Countries and Places in particular, that were given by *Pepin* and *Charlemagne* to St. *Peter* and his Church, and confirm their Donations; but knew of none, at leaſt take Notice of none, that were given to St. *Peter* or his Church by the Emperor *Lewis*[q]. 3. *Lewis* is ſuppoſed by his Donation to have yielded to the apoſtolic See the Iſlands of *Corſica*, *Sardinia* and *Sicily*. But he never was Maſter of *Sicily*, nor indeed was any of that Race, the Iſland of *Sicily* having been poſſeſſed by the Emperors of the Eaſt till the Year 827, when it was betrayed to the *Saracens*. 4. *Lewis* in the Inſtrument of his ſuppoſed Donation is made to decree, that the Pope lawfully choſen ſhall thenceforth be

But adds nothing to them

[a] See vol. 3. p. 311.
[o] Eginhard. in Annal. Auctor. vit. Ludovic. Pii. Anaſt. in Eugen.
[p] Apud Gratian. Diſt. 63.
[q] Vide Baron. ad annos 62. & 1014.

ordained

ordained without Delay, and that after his Ordination he ſhall ſend Legates to acquaint therewith the Emperor and his Succeſſors in the Empire. But it is very certain, that by Pope *Eugene* II. the immediate Succeſſor of the preſent Pope, a Decree was iſſued at the Requeſt, not to ſay the Command, of *Lotharius*, the Son and Collegue of *Lewis* in the Empire, forbidding the new Pope, how lawfully ſoever choſen, to be ordained till his Election was approved by the Emperor, or the Deputies he ſhould appoint to aſſiſt at his Ordination. Had *Lewis* out of his great Regard for the apoſtolic See enacted the above-mentioned Decree, he would not have ſuffered it to be thus in a few Years reverſed and annulled. The Decree of Pope *Eugene* was obſerved with the greateſt Strictneſs, during the whole ninth Century; and I do not find, that the *Roman* Clergy, tho' they frequently and loudly complained of it, ever pleaded the Decree of the Emperor *Lewis* to exempt themſelves from complying with it, which they certainly would have done had they known of any ſuch Decree. Upon the Whole the Donation of *Lewis* was as evidently forged as that of *Conſtantine*, and probably forged in the latter End of the eleventh Century, *Leo Oſtienſis*, who died in the Beginning of the twelfth, being the firſt who mentions it, telling us, that it was made to St. *Peter* and his Vicar Pope *Paſchal* in the Palace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* in the Year 817[r]. Year of Chriſt 817.

The Election of *Paſchal* was no ſooner known in the Eaſt than the famous Monk *Theodore Studita*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Studius* in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*, wrote to him in his own Name, and in the Name of four other Abbots, to acquaint him with the cruel Perſecution the Orthodox, that is, the Worſhippers of Images, ſuffered under the Iconoclaſt Emperor *Leo*, and implore his Protection (O). *Theodore Studita implores the Protection of the Pope againſt the Iconoclaſts.* Year of Chriſt 818. In

[r] Leo Oſtienſ. Chron. Caſſin. l. 1. c. 18.

(O) Of this Perſecution, as they call it, the Writers of thoſe Days give us the following Account. *Leo*, having by a remarkable Victory over the *Bulgarians*, whoſe numerous Army he entirely cut off, eſtabliſhed himſelf firmly on the Throne, undertook to reform the Abuſes, that prevailed in the Church, and what to him ſeemed moſt of all to ſtand in need of a Reformation, the Worſhip of Images. For whether he had been always in his Heart an Enemy to Images, as ſome write, or was but lately ſeduced, as others will have it, by a Monk named *Sabbatius*, and perſuaded that God alone was to be worſhipped, certain it is, that in the Year 814, the ſecond of his Reign, he firſt ſhowed himſelf offended at the Worſhip, that was given to Images, and ſtrongly inclined to baniſh it, as repugnant, in his Opinion, to the Law of God, from the Church and the Empire. However not to truſt to his own Judgment alone, tho' he had, it ſeems, peruſed, and with great Attention, the Acts of the two preceding Councils, of the Council of *Conſtantinople* under

Year of Chriſt 818. In his Letter he exhorts the Pope to exert all his Zeal on ſo urgent an Occaſion, to aſſemble a Council, and to anathematize, together with

under *Copronymus* againſt Images, and of *Nice* under *Irene* in their Favour, he would take no Step in a Matter of ſuch Importance till he had conſulted the Patriarch, as well as the Biſhops and all the Men of Character at that Time in the Imperial City, and heard the Point fairly debated, in his Preſence, by the learned of both Parties. Having therefore aſſembled, in the Imperial Palace, a great Number of Biſhops with the Patriarch, the Senate, the chief of the Clergy, and the Abbots of all the Monaſteries in *Conſtantinople*, and its Neighbourhood, he is ſaid, but very improbably, to have taken an Image of our Saviour out of his Boſom, and kiſſing it to have addreſſed them thus: I agree, as you ſee, in Opinion with you. But ſome there are, who maintain the contrary Opinion, and condemn ours: And I have called together both you and them to hear what you have to offer in Support of your Opinion, and what they have to offer in Support of theirs. If you ſhow that they teach a new Doctrine, your Opinion ſhall henceforth prevail; and theirs, if they ſhow that you teach a new Doctrine. Had an Affair of ever ſo little Moment been referred to me, I ought not to have left it undetermined; much leſs am I to leave undetermined an Affair of infinite Moment (1).

Thus the Emperor: But by no Means could he prevail on the Advocates for Images to enter the Liſts with their Adverſaries. Some excuſed themſelves on account of the Place, ſaying that Matters of Religion, that Points of Faith were to be canvaſſed and determined in the Church, and not in the Imperial Palace. By others was alleged the Obſtinacy of Heretics, whom they ſaid it was loſt Labour to attempt to convince; their Obſtinacy being Proof againſt Demonſtration itſelf. Some taxing the Emperor to his Face with Inſincerity, Hypocriſy, Partiality, had the Aſſurance to tell him, that he was too much prepoſſeſſed and prejudiced in Favour of Error to be capable of diſtinguiſhing Truth from Falſhood, or Falſhood from Truth; and they therefore could not, nor would they ſtand to his Judgment in proving the one, or confuting the other. All this the Emperor bore with great Temper and Patience, only reminding them of the Reſpect, that was due to the Imperial Dignity, and telling them that every Chriſtian, much more a Biſhop and Teacher of the Chriſtian Religion, ought to be ready, whenever he is called upon, to give an Account of his Religion, and that from their Backwardneſs their Antagoniſts would conclude, that they diſtruſted their Cauſe, or wanted Arguments to ſupport it. We have abundance of Arguments, replied *Theophylactus*, Biſhop of *Nicomedia*; but our Antagoniſts have Ears and hear not, and it would therefore be to no Purpoſe to produce them. Our Adverſaries, added *Peter*, Biſhop of *Nice*, are patroniſed and protected by you; and even a *Manichee* would prove, under your Protection, too powerful for us. Here *Euthymius*, Biſhop of *Sardis*, addreſſing the Emperor, Chriſt, ſaid he, from the Time he firſt appeared upon the Earth to the preſent, that is for the Space of 800 Years and upwards, has been painted in all the Churches throughout the World, and adored in his Pictures. And who dares impugn, alter or condemn a Practice handed down to us and approved by the Apoſtles, the Martyrs and all the holy Fathers? The Apoſtle *Paul* exhorts us to ſtand faſt, and hold the Traditions, which we have been taught, whether by Word, or his Epiſtle, and will have us to anathematize and curſe even an Angel from Heaven, ſhould he preach any other Goſpel, or Doctrine, than what we have received. The holy Synod, aſſembled at *Nice* by the pious Emperors *Conſtantine* and *Irene*, condemned thoſe, who firſt taught that Images were not to be worſhipped; and that Synod the Son of God ſigned with his own Hand. If any Man therefore ſhall preſume to contradict or to alter it, let him be accurſed. That the Practice of ſetting

(1) Michael in vit. Theodor. Studit. & Theoſterict. in vit. Nicet.

up

with the other Biſhops in the Weſt, the wicked Hereſy, that prevailed in the Eaſt, and all who profeſſed it. The Direction of his Letter

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up Images in Churches, or Places of Worſhip, was not introduced till the latter End of the fourth Century, nor the Practice of worſhipping them till the latter End of the ſeventh, or the Beginning of the eighth has been ſhown in the foregoing Volume (2); and conſequently that neither was a Practice derived from the Apoſtles, or the primitive Martyrs and Fathers. *Theodore Studita*, the famous Champion of Images, pretended, that the Emperor was not at all to concern himſelf with the Church, or the Affairs of the Church, *God*, ſaid he with the Words of the Apoſtle, *having ſet ſome in the Church, firſt Apoſtles, ſecondarily Prophets, thirdly Teachers*, made no mention of Kings, who were therefore to govern the State, but leave the Church to be governed by its Paſtors and Doctors. *Theodore* added, that if the Emperor was nevertheleſs determined, right or wrong, to meddle with eccleſiaſtical Matters, he muſt let him know, that he would not even hearken to an Angel from Heaven, ſhould he preach any other Doctrine than that he had received, much leſs would he hearken to him (3).

But by God himſelf, replied the Emperor, we are expreſly forbidden to make any graven Images, to bow down to them, or to worſhip them. The *Jews* were forbidden, anſwered *Theodore:* But the Law, given to them, is not binding with reſpect to us Chriſtians; elſe why ſhould not we be circumciſed as well as the *Jews?* Where he ignorantly confounds the ceremonial Law with the Decalogue. But he had, it ſeems, peruſed the Acts of the ſecond Council of *Nice*, and read there of a learned Biſhop wondering at the Ignorance of the Iconoclaſt Heretics in alleging, againſt the Chriſtians, Words ſpoken ſo long ago to the *Jews* (4). The Emperor maintained that the Law given to *Moſes* was binding with reſpect to the Chriſtians as well as the *Jews*, our Saviour having declared, that he came not to deſtroy, but to fulfil the Law; and conſequently if it was Idolatry in a *Jew* to bow down to Images and worſhip them, it was likewiſe Idolatry in a Chriſtian. In anſwer to that was urged by *Theodore* the Example of our Saviour himſelf, who had ſent his Picture to *Abgarus* King of *Edeſſa* (5); the Example of St. *Luke* (6), and many others, who had painted him in the earlieſt Times, and whoſe Pictures were ſtill to be ſeen, and ſtill were worſhipped by the Faithful; the many Advantages attending the Uſe as well as the Worſhip of Images, and the uninterrupted Practice of the Church from the Times of Chriſt and his Apoſtles to the preſent. The Emperor anſwered, that the Uſe, as well as the Worſhip of Images, was of a much later Date than he pretended, as ſome, who were preſent, would convince him, if he and his Brethren would agree to hear them. For to this Conference the Emperor had invited ſome of the moſt zealous and learned Iconoclaſts, and among the reſt *Anthony* Metropolitan of *Sylæum* in *Pamphylia*, a Prelate, perhaps, better acquainted than any of his Time with the Scriptures, the Writings of the Fathers, and the Hiſtory of the Church. But *Theodore* declaring, in the Name of the reſt, that far from hearing condemned and accurſed Heretics, they would not ſo much as ſee them, nor meet them, could they avoid it, in the public Streets, and at the ſame Time inveighing, without any Regard to the Imperial Dignity, againſt the Emperor himſelf as a Heretic, as an Abettor of Heretics, as one, who had impiouſly undertaken, as was apparent from his Conduct, to diſturb the Peace of the Church, and baniſh the true Religion from the Empire, *Leo* thought it adviſeable to diſmiſs the Aſſembly: And he diſmiſſed it accordingly, having firſt reprimanded the inſolent Monk for treating him, he ſaid, not as an Emperor, but as the meaneſt of the Popu-

(2) See vol. 3. p. 229. 236. (3) Michael & Theoſterict. ubi ſup a.
(4) Seeabove, p. 110. (5) See vol. 3. p. 203. (6) Ibid. p. 205.

lace (7).

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Letter was to *Paschal Pope of* Rome, *the great Light, the first Prince of Bishops, and his Apostolic Lord.* At the same Time he wrote he would not concern himself with their private Opinion, yet he could not allow them to preach a Doctrine to the ignorant and undistinguishing Multitude, which the most learned amongst them had not been able, or at least had declined to maintain against those, who held, and were ready to maintain the opposite Doctrine. And he therefore ordered them to observe thenceforth a strict Silence concerning Images and the Worship of Images. This Order he sent, by the Governor of the City, to the Patriarch, to the Bishops, to the Abbots; and all, except *Theodore*, promised in compliance with it, and promised in Writing, as was required by the Emperor, thenceforth to forbear all mention, in public, of Images or the Worship of Images. But *Theodore*, addressing the Governor with the Words of the two Apostles, *whether it be right in the Sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye* (1), told him, that he would rather suffer his Tongue to be cut out than observe the injoined Silence only one Hour: Nay, no sooner did he hear that the Patriarch had promised to observe it, than quitting his Monastery, tho' confined to it by an express Order from the Emperor, and flying to the episcopal Palace, he prevailed on the weak Prelate not only to recall his Promise, but to assemble, in Defiance of the Emperor's late Prohibition, all the Bishops, Abbots and leading Men of the Clergy, and extort from them a Promise in Writing, which they all signed with a Cross, binding themselves to defend, if necessary, the holy and venerable Images at the Expence of their Lives. The Assembly was scarce dismissed when the Emperor, informed of all that had passed, sent one of the chief Lords of his Court to reproach the Patriarch, in his Name, with the Breach of his Promise, and at the same Time to let him know, that to prevent the Disturbances factious Men might raise in the City, when encouraged by him,

lace (7). The Monk *Michael*, who lived at this Time, tells us, that the Emperor, transported with Rage, drove the holy Man with dreadful Menaces and opprobrious Language from his Presence (8): But *Theosterictus*, who likewise lived at this Time, writes that *Leo* patiently heard him without ever betraying the least Resentment or Anger (9): And *Theosterictus* was as much prejudiced against *Leo* as *Michael*.

The next Day the Patriarch, by the Advice of *Theodore*, assembled in the great Church the Bishops and Abbots, who the Day before had been present at the Conference, in order to deliberate, together with them, about the Means of maintaining the Catholic Faith, that is, the Worship of Images, in Opposition to the Emperor, should he attempt to banish it, and introduce the so often condemned and anathematized Heresy in its Room. But the Emperor no sooner heard of their thus caballing than he sent them an Order by the Governor of the City, commanding them to retire forthwith to their respective Habitations, and forbear assembling again without his Permission or Knowlege. Hereupon the Monks spreading themselves, at the Instigation of *Theodore*, all over the City, began to exhort the Populace to continue stedfast in the Religion of their Ancestors, to avoid all Communication with Heretics, especially with the accursed Iconoclasts, and to defend, even at the Expence of their Lives, the holy Images of our Saviour and his Saints, should any presume to remove or insult them, as they would defend our Saviour himself or his Saints, since the Insults, offered to their Images, were offered to them. The seditious Conduct of the Monks obliged the Emperor, apprehensive of the Consequences that might attend it, to confine them all to their Monasteries. At the same Time he let the Patriarch know, as well as the Bishops of his Party, that tho'

(7) Michael. in vit. Theodor. Studit. in vit. Nicet. (8) Idem ibid. (9) Theosterict. (1) Acts iv. 19.

he

wrote to the other three Patriarchs, beſtowing on them as pompous and high-ſounding Titles as he beſtowed on the Pope. The Patriarch of

Year of Chriſt 818. *And of the other Patriarchs.*

he muſt either comply with the Will of his Sovereign, or reſign his Dignity. The Patriarch anſwered, with great Reſolution and Firmneſs, that the Promiſe he made had given great Offence to all good Chriſtians, that he therefore repented his ever having made it, and was determined rather to die a thouſand Times than betray, by obſerving it, ſo good a Cauſe. This Anſwer determined the Emperor to remove him; and he ſent accordingly an Officer to acquaint him with this his Determination, and convey him to a Monaſtery on the other Side the *Boſphorus*, which he himſelf had built. In his Room was raiſed to the Patriarchal Dignity *Theodotus* of *Meliſſa*, whom even his avowed Enemies allow to have been a Perſon of a noble Extraction, of a mild Temper, of an engaging Behaviour, nay, and to have been univerſally reputed a Man of great Probity, tho' his Probity, ſay they, was only affected, being himſelf an irreconcileable Enemy to Chriſt and his Saints in their Images, and ſparing no Pains to gain over others to his deteſtable Hereſy (2).

The new Patriarch was no ſooner conſecrated than he appointed, in the Emperor's Name, all the Biſhops, Abbots, and other Eccleſiaſtics in the City and Neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*, to meet in the Church of St. *Sophia*, and there to examine anew, ſince the Controverſy about Images was revived, and many were offended at the Worſhip, that was given them, whether that Worſhip was agreeable or repugnant to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles and the Fathers. The Patriarch ingenuouſly owned in the Letter he wrote on this Occaſion, that as for himſelf, he was of Opinion, that ſuch a Worſhip could not be excuſed from Idolatry, ſince in the Old Teſtament it was expreſly forbidden as idolatrous, and was no-where recommended or allowed in the New. However he was willing, he ſaid, and ſo was the Emperor, to hear what they, who were of a different Opinion, had to offer in Support of it, and both were ready to receive the Doctrine, that ſhould appear to them the beſt grounded. He added, that the Queſtion had indeed been already examined, nay and had been decided by two different Councils, *viz.* thoſe of *Conſtantinople* and *Nice*, but as their Deciſions were diametrically oppoſite to each other, it might ſtill be looked upon as quite undecided; and he therefore flattered himſelf that none would object to its being examined anew. In Compliance with the Deſire of the Emperor and the Patriarch the Biſhops aſſembled at the Time appointed, and with them a great Number of other Eccleſiaſtics, and ſome Abbots and Monks. But the greater Part of the Abbots were diverted by *Theodore* from attending the Council, on Pretence that it was not lawful to re-examine a Doctrine, that had been already examined and defined by a General Council; the inſolent Monk had even the Aſſurance to write to the Council in the Name of all the Abbots, ſtiling them Heretics, and declaring, that if *Peter* and *Paul* were to come down from Heaven, and preach another Goſpel (beſides that, which teaches the Worſhip of Images) they would not receive them into their Communion (3).

As the Acts of this Council have not been ſuffered to reach our Times, nor indeed any Writings whatever againſt Images, all we know of it is, that the Council of *Conſtantinople*, forbidding the Worſhip of Images, was approved and confirmed, and the Council of *Nice* commanding that Worſhip, anathematized and condemned; that many Biſhops as well as other Eccleſiaſtics, and even ſome Monks, ſolemnly renounced the Worſhip of Images (not convinced, ſay *Michael* and *Theoſtericſtus*, by Reaſons or Arguments, but gained by rich Preſents or Promiſes of greater Preferments), and that thoſe, who on this Occaſion changed their Opinion, ſhowed themſelves ever after the moſt of all averſe to Images, and the Worſhip of Images (4).

(2) Continuat. Anonym. Theoph. Ignat. in vit. Niceph. (3) Michael. in vit. Theodor. (4) Mich. & Theoſteric. ibid.

Year of Chriſt 818

of *Alexandria* he ſtiles, *the moſt holy Father of Fathers, the Light of Lights,* and *the moſt bleſſed Pope.* The very ſame Letter he ſent

Theoſterictus tells us, that ſuch of the Biſhops as diſſented from the reſt, and would not, together with them, condemn the ancient Doctrine of the Church, were by them cruelly beaten, and trod under Foot in the Council. But of that unwarrantable Conduct no mention is made by any other contemporary Writer; and it is quite inconſiſtent with the mild Temper of the Patriarch, and the Character of the Emperor, who bore ſo long, and with an unparallelled Patience, the Oppoſition and Inſults he met with from the enthuſiaſtic Monks, eſpecially from the Author of all the Diſturbances *Theodore Studita.*

The Council was no ſooner diſmiſſed than an Edict was iſſued by the Emperor, wonderfully calculated, ſays *Theoſterictus*, to extirpate the Catholic Faith, and eſtabliſh the worſt of Hereſies in its Room: For by that Edict he ordered all the holy Images, even the Images of our Saviour himſelf, to be pulled down, to be caſt out of the Churches and broken, calling them Idols, and blaſphemouſly aſcribing all the Calamities, that had befallen the Empire ever ſince they were reſtored by the moſt religious Empreſs *Irene*, to the Vengeance of Heaven juſtly provoked at the idolatrous Worſhip, that was given them. The Populace were not, it ſeems, at this Time, ſo zealouſly attached to their Images, as they were in the Time of *Leo* the *Iſaurian*, the firſt Emperor, who undertook to controll that Superſtition; for I do not find that the Imperial Officers, who were charged with the Execution of the preſent Edict, met with any Oppoſition from them, tho' they ſpared no Images, but pulled down, effaced, or broke them all in the Sight of the People, even thoſe, that were moſt revered and reſorted to for the Miracles they were ſaid to work. They queſtioned perhaps the Truth of the Miracles, that were ſaid to have been wrought by them to ſave others, ſince they could work none to ſave themſelves. However that be, Images were once more deſtroyed throughout the Empire, or at leaſt removed, and removed without the leaſt Diſturbance, out of the Churches and all other public Places, and the Chriſtian Worſhip once more reſtored to its primitive Purity. This *Theodore* could not bear; and he undertook to maintain, in ſpite of the Emperor and in Defiance of his Edict, the condemned Superſtition. With that View he ordered his Monks to take each of them an Image, and walking round the Monaſtery, in Proceſſion, with their Images in their Hands, to ſing aloud a Hymn, that began with theſe Words, *we adore thy immaculate Image.* The ſeditious Monk flattered himſelf, that he ſhould thus raiſe the Multitude, and, being backed by them, oblige the Emperor to repeal his Edict, or at leaſt to connive at a Practice, which he could not aboliſh without expoſing himſelf to the Danger of loſing his Crown, and perhaps his Life. But, to his great Mortification, not one Perſon joined in the Proceſſion, or betrayed the leaſt Inclination of riſing for the Sake of Images, againſt a Prince, who had but very lately, by a moſt glorious Victory over the Barbarians, delivered the Empire, and the Imperial City, from impending Ruin and Deſtruction. Some however, apprehending the Diſturbances the Monk might raiſe in the End, were he ſuffered thus to inſult both the Emperor and the Council, and ſtir up the Populace, with Impunity, to Sedition and Rebellion, loudly complained of him to *Leo*, adviſing him, as he tendered the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church and the Empire, to remove out of the Way, by ſome Means or other, the only Man, who was capable of diſturbing them, and made it his Study to diſturb them. But the Tyrant, as he is here ſtiled by the Monk *Michael*, inſtead of hearkening to them, and cauſing the refractory and rebellious Abbot to be immediately apprehended, confined and even put to Death, as they adviſed him, and he might have done without the leaſt Imputation of Injuſtice or of Cruelty, contented himſelf, by an Inſtance of Clemency and Good-nature ſcarce to be matched in Hiſtory, with putting him in Mind of his Duty, with exhorting him to forbear ſuch treaſonable Practices, and threatening, if he did not, to let Juſtice thenceforth

ſent with the very ſame Titles to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*; and as to the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, he calls him *the firſt of all the Patriarchs* Year of Chriſt 818.

thenceforth take Place of Mercy (5). But the holy Man, ſays the Hiſtorian, deſpiſing alike the Careſſes and the Menaces of the Tyrant, continued, in ſpite of both, the ſame Practices with more Zeal than ever, preaching the Catholic Faith, that is the Worſhip of Images, in public and in private, and exhorting all to defend, if neceſſary, at the Expence of their Lives, the Religion they had received from their Anceſtors, and their Anceſtors from the Apoſtles, and Chriſt himſelf, who had ſent his Image to the King of *Edeſſa* to be worſhipped by him and his People. Hereupon the Tyrant, continues the Hiſtorian, quite at a Loſs what Meaſures to take, and no longer able to bear the Liberty and Firmneſs of the holy Abbot, ordered him firſt to depart the City, and ſoon after ſent him, (no doubt upon ſome new Provocation) into Exile, and confined him to a Caſtle. And who but a Prince of *Leo*'s good Nature and Clemency would have bore ſo long his unparallelled Preſumption, and, when it was paſt all bearing, contented himſelf with inflicting ſo ſlight a Puniſhment on ſuch an Incendiary? We need no other Proof of this excellent Prince's humane Diſpoſition and merciful Temper, than the very Facts, that gave Occaſion to the Writers of thoſe Times, all bigotted Monks, to ſtile him a Tyrant. With *Theodore* were baniſhed ſeveral Biſhops, and moſt of the Abbots of the Monaſteries in *Conſtantinople*, who, encouraged by that turbulent Monk, not only refuſed to comply with the Imperial Edict, but publicly inveighed againſt the Emperor as a Heretic for iſſuing it. Among the Abbots was the famous Chronologer *Theophanes*, and *Nicetas*, whoſe Life, written by the Monk *Theoſtrictus* and filled with Invectives againſt *Leo*, has reached our Times. *Nicetas* was nearly related to the Empreſs *Irene*, had been Governor of *Sicily*, and honoured with ſome of the firſt Employments of the Empire, but having afterwards embraced a monaſtic Life under *Theodore*, he rivaled even *Theodore* himſelf in his Zeal for Images and the Worſhip of Images, publicly oppoſing, and ſtirring up the People to oppoſe the Execution of the Imperial Edict (6). He was therefore baniſhed with the reſt, after the Emperor, mindful of his former Services, had done all that lay in his Power to divert him from oppoſing his Edict, if he could not comply with it.

The baniſhed Monks were confined to different Iſlands; but ſcarce had they begun to feel the Hardſhips of their Exile, when the good-natured Emperor, pitying their Condition, recalled them all but *Theodore*, the chief Author of all the Diſturbances, and reſtored them to their Monaſteries. Upon their Return to *Conſtantinople* the Emperor ſent for them to the Imperial Palace, and there after reproaching them, in a friendly Manner, with ſtriving to maintain, by ſeditious Practices, a Superſtition, which they had declined to maintain with Reaſons and with Arguments, he told them, that he would not thenceforth concern himſelf with their private Opinions, nor even prevent them from worſhipping their Images, provided they contented themſelves to worſhip them within the Walls of their Monaſteries, and, to avoid Diviſions and a Schiſm in the Church, communicated but once with the Patriarch. To theſe Terms all readily agreed, and were thereupon allowed quietly to live and to worſhip undiſturbed what Images they pleaſed in their Monaſteries. At the ſame Time were recalled moſt of the baniſhed Biſhops, and ſuch of them reſtored to their Sees as agreed to communicate with the Patriarch, and not to oppoſe, nor ſtir up the People to oppoſe the Execution of the Imperial Edict. Of this Agreement *Theodore* was ſoon informed; and fired with Zeal he undertook to divert his Brethren from ſtanding to it, or ſuffering themſelves to be reſtrained, by any Agreement whatever, from oppoſing the wicked Laws of the Tyrant and his antichriſtian Edicts. Of the Letters he wrote from his Priſon on this Occaſion to the Monks, to the Nuns, to the Biſhops, and to all true

(5) Mich. ibid.

(6) Theoſterict. in vit. Nicet.

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Patriarchs tho' only reckoned the fifth. He addreſſes them all with the greateſt Submiſſion, proſtrates himſelf at their Feet, and declares himſelf unworthy of their Notice, but hopes that as our Saviour condeſcended to receive a Letter from *Abgarus*, nay and to anſwer it, they will condeſcend to receive one from him. From theſe Letters it appears, that Images were every-where caſt out of the Churches, and either broken in Pieces, or publicly burnt; that none were ſuf-

Chriſtians in general, near two Hundred have reached our Times, all calculated to ſtir them up to Sedition and Rebellion, and encourage them to maintain, and publicly to profeſs, in Defiance of the Tyrant, the Faith and Religion, which our Saviour himſelf had taught, that is the Worſhip of Images, and all true Chriſtians had held and profeſſed, ever ſince his Time to the preſent. The Emperor however, ſparing his Life, by an Exceſs of good Nature, contented himſelf with ordering him to be whipped, to be removed farther from *Conſtantinople*, and to be more cloſely confined. But as he ſtill found Means to write and convey Letters to his Brethren in *Conſtantinople*, moſt of them filled with bitter Invectives againſt the Emperor, calling him a Tyrant, an Apoſtate, a Heretic, an *Ammorhite*, *the great Dragon*, *the crooked Serpent*, *a Veſſel of Wrath*, an avowed Enemy to Chriſt and his Saints, *&c.* and comparing him to *Og*, King of *Baſan*, to *Ahab*, to *Julian*, *Leo* reſolved at laſt to let Juſtice take Place of Mercy, and order him, ſince he could by no other Means overcome his Obſtinacy, to be publicly executed. But his good Nature ſtill prevailing over his Reſentment, he ſoon changed his Mind, and ordered him only to be conveyed to *Smyrna*, and delivered up to the Biſhop of that Place, a Prelate of great Learning, and no leſs remarkable for his Zeal in promoting the Worſhip of God alone than *Theodore* was in promoting the Worſhip of Images. By him the Monk was kept cloſely confined, and uſed, if the Author of his Life is to be credited, with the utmoſt Barbarity till the Death of the Emperor, that is for the Space of two Years (7). As for the other Monks, many of them, ſtanding to the Agreement they had made, contented themſelves, without hearkening to the Suggeſtions of *Theodore*, with the Liberty the Emperor allowed them of worſhipping their Images within the Walls of their Monaſteries; and to them no kind of Violence was offered. But thoſe, who ſtill continued, in Defiance of the Emperor and the Imperial Edict, publicly to preach and recommend to the Populace the forbidden Superſtition, were all either cloſely confined, or ſent into Exile. And it is obſervable, that in this cruel and bloody Perſecution, as it is ſtiled and deſcribed by the later *Greek* Writers, and after them by *Baronius* and *Maimburg*, one Perſon only ſuffered Death, a Monk named *Thadæus*, whom *Bardas*, one of the Emperor's Officers, provoked at his Obſtinacy, cauſed to be whipped with ſo much Severity, that he expired on the Spot. Indeed Whipping, Confinement, and Exile were the only Puniſhments the Emperor allowed to be inflicted even on thoſe, who, not ſatisfied with tranſgreſſing his Edict, had the Aſſurance publicly to revile and inſult him as an Apoſtate from the Faith, as a Heretic, as an Enemy to God and his Saints. And yet the Reader will find this excellent and moſt humane Prince painted by *Maimburg* as a blood-thirſty Tyrant, as one, who delighted in nothing ſo much as in Acts of the moſt barbarous Cruelty, as a *Nero* or a *Dioclesian*. But whether *Leo* or his Grand Monarch beſt deſerved the Name of Tyrant, I ſhall leave every Man to judge, who compares the Treatment, that the Worſhippers of Images met with from the former, after they had provoked him in the Manner we have ſeen, with the Treatment thoſe, who refuſed to worſhip Images, met with from the latter, whom they had noways provoked.

(7) Mich. in vit. Theodor.

fered

fered even on the ſacred Utenſils; that all, who had any Images, Pictures, or Books recommending either the Uſe or the Worſhip of them, were ordered to deliver them up to the Patriarch or the Imperial Officers; that thoſe, in whoſe Cuſtody ſuch Books, Images or Pictures were found, were whipped, impriſoned or ſent into Exile; that a great many Monks, and all the Biſhops but thoſe of *Theſſalonica*, *Epheſus*, *Nice* and *Nicomedia*, readily complied with the Decree of the Emperor, and that thus was the Worſhip as well as the Uſe of Images, which had given Occaſion to that Worſhip, a ſecond Time utterly ſuppreſſed throughout the Empire. The Pope was greatly affected with the Sufferings of the Monks, and the other Worſhippers of Images, as deſcribed, and indeed exaggerated beyond all Meaſure by *Theodore*: But unable to afford them the leaſt Relief, he contented himſelf with comforting them by Letters, aſſuring them, that to ſuffer for Images was to ſuffer for Chriſt; that the Martyrs of Images were Martyrs of Chriſt, and that the ſame Reward was reſerved in Heaven for thoſe, who ſuffered under the Iconoclaſt Emperors for the Sake of Images, that was given to thoſe, who ſuffered under the Pagan Emperors for the Sake of Chriſt.

Year of Chriſt 818.

The Pope's Anſwer to his Letter.

The four following Years were ſpent by *Paſchal* in rebuilding, repairing, or embelliſhing with many coſtly Ornaments ſeveral Churches and Monaſteries in *Rome*, as is related at length by *Anaſtaſius*[k], and out of him by *Baronius*. As *Rome* ſwarmed at this Time with *Greek* Monks, who had fled from *Conſtantinople*, and the other Cities in the Eaſt the Pope built, amongſt his other public Works, a ſpacious Monaſtery for their Reception, and richly endowed it, that thoſe, who had choſen to quit their Country rather than renounce the Faith, that is the Uſe and the Worſhip of Images, might there, as in a ſafe Port, be comfortably maintained till it pleaſed God to lay the Storm.

He repairs rebuilds and enriches many Churches.

In the Year 823. *Paſchal* had the Satisfaction of receiving at *Rome* *Lotharius*, the eldeſt Son of the Emperor *Louis*, and crowning him Emperor and King of *Italy*. *Lotharius* had been taken by his Father in 817. for his Partner in the Empire; had been appointed King of *Italy* in 822, and was ſent in 823. to take upon him the Government of his new Kingdom. *Paſchal* no ſooner heard of his Arrival than he invited him by his Legates to *Rome*, received him there with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect and Diſtinction, and on

Crowns Lotharius Emperor and King of Italy.

Year of Chriſt 823.

[k] Anaſt. in Paſch.

Eaſter-

Year of Christ 823.

Easter-day crowned him, with the greatest Solemnity, at the Tomb of St. *Peter*, giving him at the same Time the Title of *Augustus*[l]. In many of this Prince's Diplomas the Years of his Empire are reckoned from the Time of his Coronation, that is, from the fifth of *April*, for in 823. Easter fell on that Day. In the Supplement to the History of *Paulus Diaconus* it is said, that on this Occasion the apostolic Pope *Paschal* vested the Emperor *Lotharius* with the same Power over the *Romans* and the City of *Rome*, that had been vested in the ancient Emperors, that is, he yielded to him the Sovereignty of *Rome*: And thus were the Emperors of the West, says F. *Pagi*, made by the Pope Sovereigns of *Rome*, they being better able than he to curb the Insolence of the unruly and mutinous *Romans*[m].

The Emperors not made Sovereigns of Rome by the Pope.

But what Acts of Sovereignty or sovereign Power were exercised by the Emperors in *Rome* after the Pontificate of *Paschal*, that were not exercised before it by *Charlemagne*? He coined Money in *Rome*, and sent thither Commissioners from Time to Time to administer Justice, to judge Causes, to try Criminals, and absolve or condemn them, nay and to try the Pope himself[n]. It was not therefore from the Pope *Lotharius* received the Sovereignty of *Rome*, but from his Father *Charlemagne*, who yielded indeed to the Pope the *Dominium utile*, or the Revenues of the City and Dukedom of *Rome*, but kept the Sovereignty to himself. The Popes, it is true, coined Money in *Rome* in *Charlemagne*'s Time; but their coining Money is no Proof of their sovereign Power, since they coined Money after *Paschal*'s Time, that is when the sovereign Power was, according to all, lodged in the Emperors, and not in them (A). That Privilege was granted them by the Emperors, and by the Emperors the same Privilege was granted to the Dukes of *Benevento*, who acknowleged the Emperors for their liege Lords and Sovereigns (B). From

[l] Eginhard. in Annal. ad ann. 823.
[m] Pagi in Annal. Bar. ad ann. 823.
[n] See above, p. 152.

(A) No Papal Money is to be met with, that was coined before *Charlemagne*'s Time, and very few, that were coined after it till the Pontificate of *Leo* IX. raised to the See in 1049. On some of their Coins are only the Names of the Popes, in whose Time they were coined, and on others the Names both of the Popes and the Emperors. Thus on some Silver Coins of *Leo* IX. that have reached our Times, is his Name only. But on one of *Benedict* III. chosen in 855, is the Figure of St. *Peter* in his Pontifical Attire with the Letters *S. P.* over it, and the Name of the Pope round it, viz. *Benedict* P. On the Reverse is a Hand between the two Letters *R O*, that is *Roma*, and the Emperor's Name *Lodovicus Imp.* round it, *Louis*, the third Son of *Louis the Debonnaire*, being then Emperor.

(B) On one of their Coins is to be seen the Figure of Duke *Grimoald* with his Name

From *Rome Lotharius* returned to his Father then in *France*. But ſcarce was he arrived there when Word was brought him by a Meſſenger ſent from *Rome*, that two of the chief Officers of the *Roman* Church, *Theodore* Primicerius, and *Leo* the Nomenclator, had been apprehended after his Departure, had been carried to the *Lateran* Palace, and had there had their Eyes firſt cruelly put out, and their Heads afterwards ſtruck off. The Meſſenger charged the Pope with that barbarous Execution, pretending thoſe unhappy Men had been by him ſo cruelly uſed merely on account of their inviolable Attachment to the Emperors, and their known Zeal for the Intereſts of *France*. The Emperor *Louis*, ſhocked at ſuch Barbarity, diſpatched immediately to *Rome Adalunge* Abbot of St. *Vaſt*, and *Hunfrid* Count or Governor of *Coire*, to inquire into the Fact upon the Spot. But they were not yet gone when *John* Biſhop of the *White Foreſt*, a Biſhopric united ſince to that of *Porto*, and *Benedict* Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, arrived with the Character of the Pope's Legates, being ſent by him to aſſure the Emperors, that he was no-ways concerned in, or acceſſory to the Death of *Theodore* and *Leo*, and beg they would not ſuffer themſelves to be prepoſſeſſed againſt him by the malicious and falſe Reports of his Enemies. The Commiſſioners however were ordered to repair to *Rome*: And thither they repaired accordingly, but found the Depoſitions of the many Witneſſes they examined ſo different and ſo contradictory, that after all the Pains they had taken they could not in the End, with any Certainty, declare the Pope innocent of the Murder nor guilty. They were therefore obliged, upon his offering to clear himſelf by an Oath, as his Predeceſſor Pope *Leo* had done[o], to acquieſce in the Offer; and he ſolemnly declared upon Oath, in their Preſence, and in the Preſence of 34 Biſhops, that he was no-ways acceſſory, or privy to the Murder, which his Enemies had maliciouſly laid to his Charge. He could not however be prevailed upon to deliver up the Perſons, by whom the Murder was committed, alleging that they were of the Family of St. *Peter*, that is, his own Servants, and guilty of no Crime or Injuſtice, ſince thoſe, whom they put to Death, had long deſerved, by their treaſonable Practices, the Doom, that in the End overtook them. Here *Baronius*, to prevent his injudicious and un-

Year of Chriſt 823.

Two Perſons of Rank murdered in the Pope's Palace.

The Pope ſends Legates on that Occaſion into France.

And clears himſelf by an Oath.

[o] See above, p. 152.

Name round it, and on the Reverſe *Dons Carlus R.* that is *Dominus Carolus Rex*, for he was contemporary with *Charlemagne*.

Year of Chriſt 823.

diſtinguiſhing Readers from concluding, biaſſed by theſe Circumſtances, that his Holineſs was privy to the Murder, and conſequently guilty of Perjury, tells us of his miraculouſly ſtopping ſoon after, with his Preſence alone, a dreadful Conflagration, that threatened the *Vatican* itſelf with Deſtruction. And by him Heaven would never have wrought ſuch a Miracle, as the Annaliſt well obſerves, had he been guilty of Murder and Perjury [p]. But the judicious and diſtinguiſhing Reader will perhaps be rather inclined to queſtion the Miracle, than allow two Perſons of the firſt Rank in *Rome* to have been put to Death in the Pope's own Palace, and by his own Servants, without his Conſent or Privity; and the rather as he approved of the Murder, not only refuſing to deliver up the Aſſaſſins, but pretending they were guilty, in what they had done, of no Crime or Injuſtice. The Imperial Commiſſioners were accompanied, on their Return from *Rome*, by the Biſhop of the *White Foreſt* and three other Legates ſent by the Pope to ſatisfy the Emperor of his Innocence. The Emperor heard them all with great Attention and Patience, but being after he had heard them, quite at a Loſs what Judgment to give, he thought it adviſeable to forbear all further Enquiries, and acquieſce, as his Father had done on the like Occaſion, in the Oath of the Pope. He did not however declare him innocent, but only diſmiſſed his Legates, as *Eginhard* informs us, with a proper Anſwer, *dato convenienti reſponſo* [q].

Paſchal *dies*. Year of Chriſt 824.

The Legates, on their Return to *Rome*, found the Pope dangerouſly ill; and he died a few Days after their Arrival, that is, on the tenth of *February* 824, having held the See ſeven Years and ſeventeen Days [r]. The *Romans*, believing him guilty, notwithſtanding the Oath he had taken, of the Murder of *Leo* and *Theodore*, would not allow him to be buried in the *Vatican*; and he remained unburied till his Succeſſor, choſen after a Vacancy of four Days, cauſed his Remains to be depoſited in the Church of St. *Praxedes*, which the deceaſed Pope had entirely rebuilt [s]. The *Romans* knew nothing, it ſeems, of his miraculouſly ſaving the *Vatican*, elſe they had thought him as worthy of a Place there after his Death as any of his Predeceſſors.

Ebbo *of* Reims *preaches the Goſpel to the* Danes.

In *Paſchal*'s Time, and with his Approbation, *Ebbo*, Archbiſhop of *Reims*, was ſent by the Emperor *Louis* to preach the Goſpel to the

[p] Bar. ad ann. 823. p. 727. [q] Eginhard. ad ann. 823. Thegan. de geſt. Ludovic. c. 30. Aſtronom. ad ann. 823. [r] Martin. Polon. & Honor. Auguſto dunens. [s] Theganus, n. 30.

Danes.

Danes. The Emperor named him for that Miſſion; and the Pope, upon his coming to *Rome*, granted him full Power to preach to the Northern Nations, eſpecially to the *Nordalbingi*, or the *Danes*; appointed *Halidgarius*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cambray*, to aſſiſt him as a Companion in that Undertaking; and furniſhed him with Letters of Recommendation addreſſed to the Biſhops, Presbyters, Princes, Dukes, Counts, and all Chriſtians in thoſe Parts [s]. The Converſion of the *Danes* was firſt attempted by *Willibrardus*, as has been related above, and afterwards by the Presbyter *Heridagus*, ſent for that Purpoſe by *Charlemagne* into *Nordalbingia*, or *Denmark* [t]; but both were attended with little Succeſs. *Ebbo* is ſaid to have converted great Numbers [u]; but the Glory of completing the Converſion both of the *Danes* and the *Swedes*, was reſerved for *Anſcharius*, who employed Thirty eight Years in that great Work. Year of Chriſt 824.

In the Fourth Year of *Paſchal*'s Pontificate, the Emperor *Leo* was barbarouſly murdered; and *Michael*, ſurnamed *Balbus*, or the *Stammerer*, was raiſed to the Imperial Throne in his room. Of this Revolution Hiſtorians give us the following Account: *Michael* had ſerved from his Youth in the Army, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, on all Occaſions, by the Prudence of his Conduct, as well as his Courage, and had been therefore preferred by the Emperor to the chief Command of all the Forces of the Empire; but, not ſatisfied with that Station, he began to think of raiſing himſelf, as he was greatly beloved by the Soldiery, to the Imperial Dignity. He was therein encouraged by his friends; but the Plot being diſcovered before it was ripe for Execution, he was ſeized, tried, and ſentenced by his Judges to die in the Flames. The Sentence was to have been executed on *Chriſtmas* Eve; but the Empreſs *Theodoſia* having prevailed on her Husband to put off the Execution till after that Feſtival, the Criminal found means, during that Interval, to write to his accomplices, threatening to diſcover them to the Emperor, if they did not attempt, without Loſs of Time, his Releaſe. His Letter was conveyed to them by ſome religious Perſons, who had been admitted to him with the Permiſſion of the Emperor; and they no ſooner received it, than alarmed at the Danger that threatned them, they reſolved to deliver themſelves from it by the Death of the Emperor. As *Leo* was therefore to aſſiſt very early the next Day, the Feſtival of *The Emperor* Leo *barbarouſly murdered.*

[s] Annal. Fuld. Flodoart. l. ii. c. 12. Bolland. ad diem 3 Februarii. [t] Rembart. in vit. Anſcharii, c. 5. [u] Flodoart. ubi ſupra.

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our Saviour's Nativity, at divine Service in the Chapel of the Imperial Palace, the Conſpirators choſe that Time as the moſt proper for the Execution of their Deſign; and being accordingly admitted by the *Papias*, or the Door-keeper of the Palace, whom they had gained, amongſt the Eccleſiaſtics who were to officiate, they lay concealed till the Emperor, who took particular Delight in ſinging Pſalms and Hymns, began the firſt, according to Cuſtom, to ſing aloud a Hymn commencing thus, *All Things have they deſpiſed for the Love of the Lord.* As that was the Signal agreed on, they ſtarted up that Moment, and making all together, with their drawn Swords, towards the Emperor, they firſt fell, in that Hurry and Confuſion, as it was not yet Day-light, on One of the Eccleſiaſtics, who greatly reſembled him in Size and in Stature, and dangerouſly wounded him. In the mean time the Emperor, appriſed of their Deſign, flew to the Altar, as to a ſafe and inviolable Aſylum; but the Conſpirators, purſuing him as ſoon as they were aware of their Miſtake, furiouſly attacked him on all Sides, ſtriving, without any Regard to the Sacredneſs of the Place, who ſhould have the Glory and the Merit of putting an End to his Life. However, the brave Prince, as he was quite unarmed, laying hold of the Chain of the Incenſory with the one Hand, and ſnatching with the other the Croſs from the Altar, defended himſelf with great Reſolution and Courage, warding off the Blows with the Croſs, and returning them with the Incenſory, till One of the Conſpirators, who in Strength ſurpaſſed all the reſt, cut off, at One Blow, his Hand, and with it the Croſs in Two Pieces. He then fell to the Ground, pierced with numberleſs Wounds, and covered with his Blood; and One of the Aſſaſſins cut off his Head, while the reſt continued barbarouſly mangling his Body even after his Death [t].

Leo's *Character.*

Such was the unhappy and undeſerved End of the Emperor *Leo*, ſurnamed the *Armenian*, after he had reigned Seven Years, Five Months, and Fifteen Days. In him nothing was wanting, if his avowed Enemies are to be credited, but Zeal for the true Faith, that is, for the Worſhip of Images, to complete the Character of a great and excellent Prince; for he was, even according to them, the beſt General, and ableſt Stateſman, of his Time; brave, vigilant, induſtrious, an Enemy to Pleaſure, and a Friend to Virtue. He deſpiſed

[t] Ignat. in Taraſ. Theodor. ſtudit. ep. 61. Leo Grammat. in Lon. Cedren. in Michael.

Wealth,

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Wealth, had nothing ſo much at heart, and ever in the Firſt place conſulted, the Welfare of the State, and the Safety of the Subject, ſparing no Pains, declining no Danger, to procure the one and the other. He undertook nothing raſhly, purſued ſteadily, but with Diſcretion and Prudence, and happily accompliſhed, whatever he undertook. He utterly abhorred all ſort of Corruption, had regard, in beſtowing his Favours, to Merit alone; and never was known to have preferred any but the moſt deſerving and worthy in the State or the Army. Not ſatisfied with appointing Men of the greateſt Integrity to adminiſter Juſtice to his Subjects, he adminiſtered it himſelf, hearing Cauſes Two Days in the Week in One of the great Halls of the Palace, and deciding them with the greateſt Exactneſs and Equity. He was at all Times ready to hear the Complaints, and redreſs the Grievances, of the meaneſt of his Subjects; and of this *Cedrenus* gives us the following Inſtance: As he was One Day coming out of the Palace, a Perſon of a mean Condition accoſting him, begged he would ſtop for a Moment, and hear him. The Emperor ſtopt, and heard him with Patience: He complained of a Senator, who, he ſaid, had by Force taken his Wife from him, and detained her: adding, that he had applied to the Prefect or Governor of the City; but applied to no Purpoſe for Juſtice. Hereupon the Emperor, returning to his Apartment, ſent immediately both for the Senator and the Prefect; and finding the one and the other guilty of the Charge, he diſmiſſed the Prefect that Moment from his Employment, and ordered the Senator to be puniſhed, as convicted of Adultery, according to the Rigour of the Law. Such is the Character *Theophanes*, the Author of the *Miſcella*, *Anaſtaſius*, and the Patriarch *Nicephorus*, give us of *Leo the Armenian*, though all his avowed Enemies, on account of his Enmity to Images; nay, the Patriarch *Nicephorus*, tho' driven by him from his See, and ſent into Exile, did him the Juſtice to own, that they had indeed loſt a great, though not a good, Prince (a good Prince would never have oppoſed the Worſhip of Images!) who had truly at heart the Welfare of the State and his Subjects [u]. His Death was lamented by all but the Monks, and ſuch of the Monks only, as not ſatisfied with the Liberty the good-natured Emperor had granted them of worſhipping what Images they pleaſed within the Walls of their Monaſteries, obſtinately

Remarkable Inſtance of his Love of Juſtice.

His Death lamented by all but the Monks.

[u] Cedren. in Leon. p. 490. Continuat. Conſtantin. Porphyrogen.

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continued, in open Defiance of his Edicts, to recommend that Worſhip to the ignorant Multitude. Amongſt theſe, the mad Enthuſiaſt *Theodore*, far from ſhewing any Kind of Concern or Compaſſion at the melancholy Account of the Emperor's Death, tranſmitted to him by One of his Monks named *Naveratius*, could not forbear expreſſing his Joy, nay, and blaſphemouſly inviting Heaven and Earth, Men and Angels, to rejoice with him at ſo barbarous a Murder and Parricide. To the many good Qualities which even the Enemies of this excellent Prince have allowed him, we may add his Zeal for the Purity of the Chriſtian Worſhip (B), the extraordinary Regard he paid to Religion, and to Men truly religious, his great Modetation in the Uſe of the Power with which he was truſted, and his unparalelled good Nature in bearing ſo long, and puniſhing in the end with ſo much Lenity, the unparalelled Inſolence of the Monks, and reckon him not only amongſt the greateſt, but amongſt the moſt religious, the moſt humane, and beſt natured Princes we read of in Hiſtory. As for the many abſurd, ridiculous, and improbable Stories invented by the later *Greek* Writers to blacken his Character, and from them copied by *Maimburg* in no fewer than 98 Pages [w], they are only worthy of a Place in the lying Legends of the Monks, who invented them, or in ſuch fabulous Pieces as *Maimburg*'s Hiſtory of the Iconoclaſts.

Michael *proclaimed, and crowned.*

The Conſpirators, not ſatisfied with murdering the Emperor in the barbarous Manner we have ſeen, dragged his Body through the public Streets to the Hippodrome; and leaving it there expoſed to public View, that all might know he was dead, they carried *Michael* in Triumph from his Priſon to the great Hall of the Imperial Palace, and there placed him, loaded as he ſtill was with his Irons, the Keys of them being no-where found, with loud Acclamations, on the Throne. The ſame Day he repaired, as ſoon as his Irons could be got off, to the Church of St. *Sophia*, attended and guarded by all the Conſpirators,

[w] Hiſt. de l'Hereſ. des Iconoclaſt. part. ii. a p. 131. ad p. 229.

(B) *Cedrenus*, and after him *Baronius* and *Maimburg*, tell us, that it was not out of any Zeal for Religion that he undertook the Deſtruction of Images, but becauſe he was foretold by an Iconoclaſt Hermit and Impoſtor, that, unleſs he deſtroyed all Idols, and baniſhed Idolatry, he would ſoon loſe his Life and the Empire. But *Leo* was a Man of too much Penetration and Senſe to give any Credit to ſuch a Prediction. He thought the Worſhip of Images inconſiſtent with the Worſhip of God as commanded in Scripture; found the Advocates for that Worſhip declined maintaining it againſt their Antagoniſts, and therefore proſcribed it.

and

and was there ſolemnly crowned by the Patriarch. The new Emperor iſſued an Edict, the Third Day after his Promotion, to ſet at Liberty, and recal from Exile, all who had been confined or baniſhed by *Leo* for the Worſhip of Images; which gave Occaſion to the Monk *Theodore*, who was releaſed with the reſt, to ſtile him, in the famous Letter he wrote to him, a new *David*, a new *Joſiah*, a true Follower of Chriſt [x]. But he ſoon changed his Stile, and had good Reaſon to change it, as will appear in the Sequel.

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MICHAL BALBUS, *and his Son* THEOPHILUS, *Emperors of the Eaſt.*

EUGENE II.

LEWIS THE DEBONNAIRE, *and his Son* LOTHARIUS, *Emperors of the Weſt.*

Ninety-eighth BISHOP *of* Rome.

IN the room of *Paſchal* was choſen and ordained, after a Vacancy of Four Days, and conſequently on the 14th of *February*, which, in 824, fell on a *Sunday*, *Eugene*, the Second of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Boemund*, and, at the Time of his Election, Archprieſt of St. *Sabina* [y]. He was not choſen without Oppoſition; but at the ſame time was choſen another, whom *Onuphrius*, and after him *Ciaconius*, call *Zinzinus* [z], tho' named by no Author I know of who wrote before them. This double Election occaſioned ſuch Diſturbances in *Rome*, *Eugene* being ſupported by the Nobility, and his Competitor by the People, that the Emperor *Lewis*, being informed of it by the Subdeacon *Quirinus*, whom *Eugene* had ſent to acquaint him with his Promotion, and implore his Protection, thought it neceſſary to ſend his Son *Lotharius* into *Italy* to reſtore Peace to the City. *Lotharius* ſet out for *Rome* after the Middle of *Auguſt*; and finding, on his Arrival there, that the Party of *Eugene* had prevailed in the End, he undertook to reform the Government of the City, and correct the many Abuſes that had crept into it. He loudly complained to the new Pope of the Diſorders that had happened under his Predeceſſors in *Rome*; of the little Regard that was ſhown by the *Romans* to the *French*, and the Emperor himſelf; of their having put to Death, without conſulting him,

Eugene *choſen, and at the ſame time another.*

Lotharius *ſent by his Father into* Italy.

[x] Apud Bar. ad ann. 821. p. 712, 713. [y] Anaſt. in Eugen. II. [z] Onuph. & Ciacon. in Eugen. II.

Per-

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Perſons intirely devoted to his Service; of their deriding, inſulting, and abuſing ſuch as were known to be his Friends, and for no other Reaſon but becauſe they were his Friends; of the many crying Acts of Injuſtice and Violence, that had been committed with Impunity, through the Ignorance and Indolence of the Popes, and the inſatiable Avarice of the Judges. Theſe Evils, he told the Pope, he was determined to redreſs; and he redreſſed them accordingly, reviſing ſeveral Cauſes, and ordering the Eſtates, that had been unjuſtly ſeized and confiſcated, to be reſtored to the lawful Owners. At the ſame time he iſſued a Conſtitution, calculated to prevent ſuch Diſorders for the future, and cauſed it, that none might plead Ignorance, to be publiſhed in the *Vatican*. Of the Ten Articles or Heads it contained, the Four following are the moſt worthy of Notice: I. That none but *Romans* ſhould have a Vote in the Election of the Pope. II. That proper Perſons ſhould be appointed, both by the Pope and the Emperor, to inform them yearly how Juſtice was adminiſtered; and that all Complaints ſhould be firſt brought to the Pope, who might either redreſs the Grievances complained of himſelf, or, acquainting the Emperor with them, leave the Care of redreſſing them to him. III. That the *Romans*, and the People as well as the Senate, ſhould be asked according to what Law they chuſe to live (the *Roman*, the *Lombard*, or the *French*) that they may be judged, and condemned or abſolved, by the Law, according to which they have choſen to live. III. That all Dukes, Judges, and other Perſons in Authority, ſhould attend the Emperor, when he is in *Rome*, that he may know both their Number and their Names, and put them in mind of their Duty. By the other Articles, the Emperor inculcates due Submiſſion and Obedience to the Pope and his Officers; forbids, and on Pain of Death, any Violence to be offered to ſuch as are under his immediate Protection, or the immediate Protection of the Pope; commands the Goods of the Church, that ſome had ſeized and retained, pretending they had been granted to them by the Pope, to be forthwith reſtored. Laſtly, he forbids all Plunder and Rapine at the Death of the Pope, or in his Life-time [b]. The *Romans*, eſpecially the *Roman* Nobility, paid, it ſeems, very little Regard to the Authority of the Pope; which obliged the Emperors frequently to exert the ſupreme Power with which they were veſted

Reforms the Government of Rome.

[b] Sigon. de regno Ital. l. iv. & Holſten. Collect. Rom. Part. ii. p. 242.

both over them and the Popes. They were awed by the Emperors alone, and kept in Subjection; and thence aroſe that Averſion in them to the *French*, which *Lotharius* complained of to the Pope. The Author of the Life of the Emperor *Lewis*, who wrote at this Time, tells us, that *Lotharius*, reviving while he was at *Rome* an ancient Cuſtom, decreed, that Commiſſioners ſhould, from time to time, be ſent by the Emperor to *Rome*, to hear the Complaints of the People, to ſee that Juſtice was duly adminiſtered, and to adminiſter it, in Caſes of greater Importance, themſelves [c]. Year of Chriſt 824.

Lotharius revived, before he left *Rome*, another ancient cuſtom; *viz.* that the new Pope ſhould not be ordained till his Election was approved by the Emperor himſelf, or by the Deputies he ſhould appoint to aſſiſt at his Ordination. This Cuſtom was firſt introduced in 483 by *Odoacer*, then Maſter of *Italy* [d], was adopted by the *Gothic* Kings his Succeſſors in the Kingdom of *Italy*, and likewiſe by the Emperors, upon their recovering that Country from the *Goths*, and re-uniting it to the Empire; and it was punctually complied with by the Popes till the Year 741, when the Power of the Emperors being at a very low Ebb in the Weſt, Pope *Zachary* cauſed himſelf to be ordained, without waiting for the Approbation of the Emperor, or asking it [e]. This uſurped Independence the Popes enjoyed from the Time of *Zachary* to the preſent Year 824, when *Lotharius*, claiming all the Rights the Emperors of the Eaſt had enjoyed while Lords of *Rome*, revived the ancient Cuſtom. I do not find that the Pope offered to diſpute his Right, or any-ways to oppoſe ſuch a Regulation; nay, as Parties and Factions ran at this Time very high in *Rome*, the great Families all ſtriving, upon the Deceaſe of the Pope, to raiſe One of their Friends, Relations, or Dependents to the Chair, which, at every Vacancy, gave Riſe to endleſs Diſturbances, *Eugene* is ſaid to have, on this Occaſion, readily concurred with the Emperor, and to have himſelf drawn up an Oath, calculated to reeſtabliſh the antient Cuſtom, and obliged all his Clergy to take it. The Form of the Oath was; I I L L (theſe Letters ſtood formerly for the Name of the Perſon, as the Letter *N* does now) *promiſe by the Omnipotent God, by the Four holy Goſpels, by this Croſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and by the Body of the bleſſed St.* Peter, *Prince of the Apoſtles, that, from this Time forward, I ſhall be unfeignedly faith-*

Revives the antient Cuſtom, that the Pope ſhould not be ordained, till his Election was approved by the Emperor.

[c] Auct. vit. Ludovi. Pii. [d] See Vol. II. p. 193. [e] See Vol. III. p. 311.

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faithful to our Lords the Emperors Lewis *and* Lotharius, *ſaving the Faith I have promiſed to the Apoſtolic Lord; that I ſhall conſent to no Election of a Pontiff for this See that is not canonical; and that he, who ſhall be choſen, ſhall not be conſecrated, with my Conſent, till he has taken, in the Preſence of the Emperor's Deputy, and the People, ſuch an Oath as Pope* Eugene *preſcribed, of his own Accord, for the Safety and Welfare of all* [f] (C).

A ſolemn Embaſſy ſent by the Emperors of the Eaſt to the Emperor Lewis.

Lotharius had not yet left *Rome*, when Embaſſadors from the Emperors *Michael*, and his Son *Theophilus*, whom *Michael* had taken for his Collegue in the Empire, arrived in *France*, having been ſent by thoſe Princes to confirm the Treaties of Friendſhip and Peace concluded between *Charlemagne* and their Predeceſſors in the Empire, and at the ſame time to engage the moſt powerful King of the *Franks*, and, by his Interpoſition, the moſt holy Patriarch of *Rome*, to concur with them in healing the Diviſions, that the Diſpute about Images had occaſioned, and ſtill kept alive in the Church. *Michael* was himſelf quite averſe to the Worſhip of Images; but, having nothing ſo much at Heart as to ſee Peace reſtored in his Days to the Church, he had left nothing unattempted he could think of to reconcile the Two Parties, and thus put an End to the unhappy Diſpute. With that View he had iſſued an Edict, when he was yet ſcarce warm on his Throne, to releaſe and recal all the Biſhops and Monks, whom his Predeceſſor had confined, or ſent into exile, for obſtinately maintaining, in Defiance of his Edicts, and recommending to the Populace, the Worſhip of Images. He had flattered himſelf that he ſhould thus have engaged them to hearken at leaſt to an Accommodation; and he appointed accordingly a Synod to meet ſoon after their Return, inviting to it the leading Men of both Parties, not to diſpute, but to conſult, in an amicable Manner, about the Means of bringing to a happy Iſſue the intended Reconciliation.

The Patrons of Images refuſe to aſſiſt at a Council.

But at that Synod the Patrons of Images, to the great Diſappointment of the Emperor, obſtinately refuſed to aſſiſt or appear, alleging that it was not lawful for them to form One Council with Heretics; nay, on this Occaſion they wrote, at the Inſtigation of the Monk

[f] Supplement. Longbartic. & in Libel. de Epiſcop. Meterſ.

(C) Of this Oath no Notice is taken by *Baronius*, by *Natalis Alexander*, or by *Papebroke*, in ſpeaking of Pope *Eugene*, probably becauſe they looked upon it as ſuppoſititious. But it is to be found, and almoſt verbatim, in the Diplomas of the Emperors *Otho* I. and *Henry* I. lodged in the Caſtle St. *Angelo* at *Rome*.

Theodore,

Theodore, a Letter to the Emperor, ſuppoſed to be penned by that Incendiary, to tell him, that he was not to concern himſelf with religious Affairs; that Points of Faith and Religion were only to be diſcuſſed and determined by the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, the Five Patriarchs; and, if they could not be conveniently aſſembled, Recourſe was to be had to the Firſt Patriarch, the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, and all were to ſtand to his Judgment and Deciſion. This inſolent Conduct the Emperor bore with incredible Patience; nay, inſtead of reſenting it, and ſending them that Inſtant all back to the Places of their Confinement and Exile, he granted them an Audience, upon their deſiring to be heard by themſelves, as they could have no Communication with Heretics, received them in a moſt obliging Manner, and having heard all they could offer in Defence of themſelves and their Images, told them, that he never had worſhipped Images himſelf, and was not yet convinced that they were to be worſhipped; but nevertheleſs, as he was not for offering Violence to any Man's Conſcience, he granted them full Liberty to ſet up and to worſhip what Images they pleaſed; but upon the following Conditions: I. That as he worſhipped none, none ſhould be ſet up in the Imperial City. II. That, to prevent the ſuperſtitious Practices of the ignorant Multitude, they ſhould be placed in all Churches and Oratories out of their Reach. III. That, to put an End to ſo long and ſo fatal a Diſpute, an intire Silence ſhould be obſerved by Men of both Parties concerning the Lawfulneſs or Unlawfulneſs of ſetting up Images, or worſhipping them, as if no ſuch Controverſy had ever been heard of in the Church. That Silence he ſtrictly injoined by an Edict, declaring, that he did not take upon him to determine ſo important a Queſtion; but thought it his Duty, as he was truſted with the Care of the Church as well as the State, to procure the Peace and Tranquillity of the one as well as the other, and had, with that View alone, impoſed Silence on both Parties indifferently, ſince neither would yield to the other, and Diſputes rather ſerved to divide them ſtill more than to unite them in one Mind. With that Edict, how juſt ſoever and reaſonable, the Patrons of Images refuſed to comply, claiming, with the turbulent Monk *Theodore*, and at his Inſtigation, an unreſtrained Liberty not only of profeſſing themſelves, but of preaching to others, the true Catholic Faith, and reclaiming ſuch as had been ſeduced by the Heretics to their impious Sect. That Liberty they aſſumed, without any Regard to the expreſs Prohibition

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The Emperor injoins Silence with reſpect to the Worſhip of Images, and puniſhes ſuch as do not comply with that Injunction.

Year of Christ 824.

of the Emperor, ſtirring up the Populace to maintain what they called the Apoſtolic and ancient Practice of the Church, and damning all who oppoſed it, as Enemies to Chriſt and his Saints. Their Conduct obliged the Emperor to change his; and he now reſolved to proceed againſt them, as they were not to be gained by gentle Methods, with the ſame Severity that his Predeceſſor had uſed. The Prefect of the Imperial City was accordingly ordered, and ſo were the Governors of the Provinces, to cauſe the Imperial Edict, injoining Silence, to be ſtrictly complied with in their reſpective Juriſdictions, and to ſpare none, whether Eccleſiaſtics or Laymen, who ſhould preſume to tranſgreſs it. Purſuant to that Order, the Monk *Theodore*, and with him moſt of the Monks whom the Emperor had lately recalled, were ſent back into Exile; others were publicly whipped, and, to prevent the Diſturbances they might raiſe, ſhut up in Dungeons, or confined to the moſt diſtant and inhoſpitable Places of the Empire g.

This wholſome Severity had the wiſhed-for Effect; the Zeal of the Monks was damped in the End; the Imperial Edict was ſtrictly complied with, and Peace by that means, for the preſent, reſtored, throughout the Empire, to the Church. And it was to juſtify his Conduct to the Emperor of the Weſt, as well as to the Pope, and at the ſame time to engage them to concur with him in preventing all further Diſputes, and uniting the Eaſt and the Weſt in one Faith, that *Michael* ſent the ſolemn embaſſy, mentioned above, into *France*.

His Letter to the Emperor Lewis.

The Embaſſadors, who were all Perſons of Rank and Diſtinction, brought a Letter from the Two Emperors *Michael* and his Son *Theophilus*, to the Emperor *Lewis*, with the following Direction; *In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, One God,* Michael *and* Theophilus, *Emperors of the* Romans, *to their beloved and honoured Brother* Lewis, *the renowned King of the* Franks *and the* Lombards, *who ſtiles himſelf their Emperor.* By the Words, *who ſtiles himſelf their Emperor*, they declared, and very unſeaſonably, that they did not acknowlege the King of the *Franks* for lawful Emperor, tho' he had an unqueſtionable Right to that Title, in virtue of ſeveral Treaties between *Charlemagne* and the preceding Emperors, and by One concluded a few Years before between *Lewis* himſelf and the Emperor *Leo*, the immediate Predeceſſor of *Michael*

g Georg. Monach. in Michael. p. 510. Theodor. Studit. in epiſt. apud Bar. ad ann. 821. Cedren. ibid.

in the Empire. In the Letter, the Two Emperors notify, in the First place, to their beloved Brother the King of the *Franks*, their Acceſſion to the Imperial Throne, and at the ſame time excuſe their having ſo long delayed to acquaint him therewith, and to ſue for his Alliance and Friendſhip. That Delay they aſcribe to a War kindled in the Bowels of the Empire by an Uſurper and Impoſtor named *Thomas*, who, pretending to be *Conſtantine* the Son of *Irene*, had thereby ſeduced ſuch Numbers both of the People and the Soldiery, as had enabled him to defeat the Imperial Army, to over-run all *Syria* and *Aſia*, to reduce many important ſtrong-holds, and at laſt to lay Siege to the City of *Conſtantinople* itſelf, and keep it beſieged a whole Year. They add, that, by the particular Aſſiſtance of the Almighty, they had prevailed in the End, had defeated the Uſurper, had obliged him to fly for Refuge to the City of *Adrianople*, which City they had reduced after a Five Months Siege, and put to Death both him and his Son, having firſt cauſed their Hands and their Feet to be cut off. The Emperors take no Notice of the Aſſiſtance they received from the King of the *Bulgarians*, who, marching unasked to the Relief of *Conſtantinople*, gained the Firſt Victory over the Uſurper; and to the Firſt the other Victories were all, in a great meaſure, owing.

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In the next place, the Emperors, to juſtify their Conduct with reſpect to the Worſhippers of Images, give an Account of the many ſuperſtitious Abuſes that had begun to prevail in that Worſhip, and of the Methods they had employed to reform them; adding a Confeſſion of their Faith, to confute the Calumnies of the Monks, who, flying from *Conſtantinople*, and the other Cities of the Empire, to *Rome*, had repreſented them there not only as Heretics, but as Perſecutors of the Catholic Church, and Enemies to Chriſt and his Saints. Of the many Abuſes that had crept into the Worſhip of Images, and were patronized by thoſe who worſhipped them, they take notice of the following: *viz.* that they had baniſhed the Croſs from the Churches, and ſet up Images in its room, giving the ſame Honour to them they gave to the Croſs; that they burnt Lights and Incenſe before them, ſung Hymns in their Honour, implored their Aſſiſtance, and carrying them to the ſacred Font, made them Godfathers and Godmothers to their Children; that ſome Prieſts, ſcraping off the Colours from their Pictures, mixed them with the Wine of the Euchariſt, and gave the Wine, thus mixed, to the People; that others,

Abuſes introduced by the Worſhippers of Images.

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putting the Body of our Lord into the Hands of Images, obliged thoſe, who received it, to receive it from them; that the ſacred Myſteries were by many celebrated not in Churches, or upon Altars, but in private Houſes, and upon Pictures. Theſe, and many like ſuperſtitious Practices, the orthodox Emperors, ſay they, whoſe Example they thought themſelves bound to follow, had undertaken to ſuppreſs, and with that View ordered, after adviſing with the moſt Learned of the Clergy aſſembled in Council, ſuch Images to be removed out of the Churches as were within the Reach of the People, but allowed thoſe to remain that were not, to the end they, who beheld them, might be put in mind of the Objects they repreſented, without being tempted to kiſs them, to burn Lights or Incenſe before them, or give them any kind of Worſhip whatever.

Michael's *Confeſſion of Faith.*

In the Third place, the Emperors give an Account of their Faith; declaring, that they receive the Six General Councils; that they profeſs the Doctrine defined by thoſe Councils, and hold all the Traditions that are truly Apoſtolical, or have been acknowleged as ſuch by the Fathers. By declaring they received the Six General Councils, they tacitly rejected the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Copronymus*, commanding Images to be caſt out of the Churches, and broken, as well as the Council of *Nice* under *Irene*, ordering them to be worſhipped; the one being acknowleged by the Iconoclaſts, and the other by the Patrons of Images, for the Seventh. They cloſe their Letter with the warmeſt Proteſtations of Friendſhip and Eſteem for their Brother the King of the *Franks*, earneſtly entreating him, as they had charged their Embaſſadors to return by *Rome*, and there to negotiate an Union between the Eaſt and the Weſt, to ſecond him in ſo pious an Undertaking, and interpoſe his Authority in driving from *Rome* the wicked Incendiaries, who, flying from the Eaſt, had taken Refuge in that City; and, miſrepreſenting to the Pope and his Clergy the Doctrine of the *Greeks*, ſtrove by that means to obſtruct the Union, and widen the Breach between the Two Churches [h].

Preſents brought by his Embaſſadors for the Emperor Lewis *and the Pope.*

The Embaſſadors brought with them ſome valuable Preſents for the Emperor *Lewis*, among which were the Works, as was then ſuppoſed, of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, never before ſeen nor heard

[h] Epiſt. Imp. ad Ludovic. apud Bar. ad ann. 824.

of

of in *France* (D); and ſome for the Pope; *viz.* the Book of the Goſpels, covered with Gold, a Chalice and a Patten, or its Cover, likewiſe of Gold; and all Three enriched with precious Stones [i]. Theſe they were, on their Arrival at *Rome*, to offer at the Tomb of St. *Peter*, in the Name of the Two Emperors. As the Emperor *Lewis* was employed in reducing the Rebels of *Normandy* when the Embaſſadors arrived in *France*, they waited his Return at *Rouen*; and there he received them with all poſſible Marks of Honour and Eſteem, accepted their Preſents, renewed the Alliance between the Two Empires, and, commending the Zeal of their Maſters in ſtriveing to ſuppreſs the ſuperſtitious Worſhip of Images, and re-unite the Eaſt and the Weſt in one and the ſame Faith, he promiſed to aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his Power in ſo meritorious an Undertaking. Year of Chriſt 824.

The Embaſſadors, encouraged with the Reception they met with, ſuggeſted to the Emperor, purſuant to their private Inſtructions, the Aſſembling of a Council in *France*, to examine the Doctrine and the Practice of the *Greeks* with reſpect to the Uſe and the Worſhip of Images. *Michael* well knew, that the Emperor *Lewis*, and the *French* Nation in general, agreed in both with him and the *Greeks*; that they allowed, agreeably to the Doctrine of the Council of *Frankfort*, and the *Caroline* Books, the Uſe, but condemned the Worſhip, of Images, and conſequently rejected, with him, both the Council of *Copronymus* and the Council of *Irene*. He therefore flattered himſelf, that the *Gallican* Clergy, finding the Doctrine of the *Greeks* intirely agreeable to their own, would look upon their Cauſe as their own, would eſpouſe it as their own, and prevail upon the Pope to hearken to an Accommodation, or at leaſt reſtrain him from anathematizing the *Greeks* as Heretics, for holding a Doctrine that was common to them and the *French*. *The Embaſſadors propoſe the aſſembling a Council in* France, *to examine the Doctrine of the* Greeks *in relation to Images.*

The Emperor *Lewis* readily agreed to the Aſſembling of a Council, as was ſuggeſted by the Embaſſadors, in order to examine the Doctrine of the *Greeks* with reſpect to the Uſe and the Worſhip of *The Emperor* Lewis *agrees to the Propoſal.*

[i] Idem ibid.

(D) As no Mention is made by *Euſebius*, by *Jerom*, by *Gennadius*, or by any other Writer, till after the Fifth Century, of any Books written by *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, and, in ſome of thoſe that are aſcribed to him, Notice is taken of ſeveral Practices that were not introduced before the Time of *Conſtantine the Great*, the Books, that go under his Name, are now univerſally ſuppoſed to have been written by another *Dionyſius*, who flouriſhed long after the *Areopagite*.

Images;

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Images; but apprehending that the Pope might reſent the Aſſembling of a Counſel, without his Knowlege or Conſent, to examine a Doctrine that his Predeceſſors had already examined and condemned, and be thereupon tempted to reject all Propoſals of an Accommodation between the Eaſt and the Weſt, he reſolved firſt of all to acquaint his Holineſs with the Requeſt of the Embaſſadors, and obtain his Conſent to comply with it. For that Purpoſe *Freculphus*, Biſhop of *Liſieux*, and *Adegarius*, were ſent to *Rome*; and the Pope, highly pleaſed with ſo remarkable an Inſtance of filial Submiſſion in his Son the Emperor, conſented at once to his gratifying the Embaſſadors, and aſſembling, with that View, the Clergy of his Kingdom. The Emperor therefore, upon the Return of the Deputies, appointed, without Loſs of Time, the Biſhops, and moſt learned Eccleſiaſtics of his Kingdom, to meet, and examine the Doctrine of Images, as taught by the Churches of *Conſtantinople* and *Rome*; to inquire into the Subject of Diſagreement and Diſpute between the Two Churches with reſpect to that Article, and ſuggeſt to him the Means, that, upon mature Deliberation, ſhould appear to them the beſt calculated to reconcile and unite them in one Faith. The Council met in the royal Palace at *Paris*, on the Firſt of *November* in the preſent Year 825. Of what Number of Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtics it conſiſted, Hiſtory does not inform us; but it is certain that moſt of the Biſhops of *France* and of *Germany* were preſent, and among the reſt *Agobard*, the famous Biſhop of *Lions*, *Jeremiah* Biſhop of *Sens*, *Jonas* Biſhop of *Orleans*, *Haligarius* Biſhop of *Cambray*, *Amalarius* Biſhop of *Treves*, *Freculphus* and *Adegarius*, mentioned above, *Theodomir*, Abbot of a Monaſtery in *France* of 140 Monks, *Dungalus* Monk of the Monaſtery of St. *Dinis*; all Perſons of unexceptionable Characters, and deſervedly reckoned, as appears from their Writings, amongſt the moſt learned Men of the Age.

The Council meets at Paris.

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The Council being met, the Letter of Pope *Hadrian* to the Emperors *Conſtantine* and *Irene*, in favour of Images [k], was read in the Firſt place, and received as recommending the Uſe, but rejected as commanding the Worſhip, of Images; it being lawful, ſaid they, to ſet up Images, but unlawful to worſhip them, *cum eas erigere licitum, adorare vero nefas ſit*. They obſerve, that, in the ſame Letter, the Paſſages, alleged by the Pope out of the Fathers to ſupport his Opinion, were all miſapplied, and quite foreign to his Purpoſe;

They declare it lawful to ſet up Images, but unlawful to worſhip them.

[k] See above, p. 79—82.

valde

valde abſona, et ad rem, de qua agebatur, minime pertinentia. Indeed no Man can peruſe that Letter, and not acquieſce in their Cenſure. The ſame Cenſure they paſſed on the Second Council of *Nice*, expreſſing great Surprize at the Preſumption and Ignorance of the Fathers of that Aſſembly in commanding Images to be worſhipped, in calling them holy, and thinking that Holineſs might be acquired by them. At the ſame time, they found great Fault with the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Copronymus*, ordering Images, that put us in mind of the Objects they repreſented, and enlivened by that means our Devotion, to be caſt out of the Churches, and broken. Year of Chriſt 825.

In the next place, the Council cauſed the Confutation of the Council of *Nice* by *Charlemagne*, known by the Name of the *Caroline Books* [l], to be read, and Pope *Hadrian*'s Anſwer to that Confutation. The *Caroline* Books they intirely approved, as plainly containing the Doctrine of the primitive Church and the Fathers. But of *Hadrian*'s Anſwer they deliver their Opinion in the following Terms: *The Pope*, ſay they, *ſtill approving the Acts of that Council* (the Council of *Nice*) *in ſpite of all the Arguments urged by* Charlemagne *againſt it, obſtinately continued to ſupport thoſe who had argued ſo abſurdly, alleging what occurred to him, but not what became him, to excuſe them. For in his Anſwer are many Things alike repugnant to Truth and Authority. However, in the End of his Apology, he declares, that, as to the Subject in Diſpute, he agrees in Opinion with the holy Pope* Gregory (*Gregory the Great, teaching that we are neither to break Images, nor to worſhip them*) *ſhewing thereby, that it was not deſignedly, but ignorantly, he went aſtray from the right Path; and that he would have fallen into the Abyſs of Superſtition, had he not been with-held from it by the Doctrine of that holy Pope.* *Pope* Hadrian *ſeverely cenſured by the Council.*

Laſtly, the Fathers of the Council ordered the above-mentioned Letter of the Emperor *Michael* to the Emperor *Lewis* to be read; and, upon the Whole, concluded, *that Images are not to be broken, are not be caſt out of the Churches, nor even removed in the Places of Worſhip out of the Reach of the People; but though they are to be preſerved for the Sake of thoſe whom they repreſent, we are by no means to ſerve, worſhip, or adore them, agreeably to the Doctrine of the bleſſed Pope* Gregory [m]. *Decree of the Council.*

[l] See above, p. 121. [m] Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imper. tom. i. p. 154, 155.

The

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Their Letter to the Emperor Lewis.

The Council being ended, the Biſhops wrote a Letter in common to the Emperor *Lewis*, to acquaint him with their Proceedings, and the Judgment they had given of the Point in Diſpute between the Churches of *Conſtantinople* and *Rome*; *viz.* that both Churches were highly to blame, the one for worſhipping Images, the other for breaking them; but that it was a far greater Crime to worſhip than to break them. In the ſame Letter they tell the Emperor, that the ſuperſtitious Worſhip of Images had taken deep Root at *Rome*, as they were informed by *Freculphus* and *Adegarius*, lately returned from that City; that it was countenanced there, and promoted by thoſe, whoſe Duty it was to oppoſe it, meaning the Popes, and was therefore incumbent on ſo Chriſtian a Prince to remove the Scandal it gave to all good Men, and aboliſh a Practice that Ignorance had introduced, and Cuſtom eſtabliſhed. They added, that, in ſo nice and important an Affair, he muſt proceed with the utmoſt Caution and Prudence, not openly diſapproving what the Apoſtolic See had approved; but only expreſſing an earneſt Deſire of ſeeing Peace reſtored to the Church, and begging his Holineſs to interpoſe the Authority with which he is veſted, and cauſe the Doctrine to be univerſally received, that ſhould be found, upon ſearching the Scriptures, and the Writings of the Fathers, the moſt agreeable to both. With that Letter the *Gallican* Biſhops ſent to the Emperor a large Collection of Paſſages out of the Fathers, all calculated to prove, that Images, according to them, were neither to be worſhipped, nor caſt out of the Churches, and broken. But againſt deſtroying, and baniſhing them out of the Churches, not One Father is quoted of the Three firſt Centuries; and the Teſtimonies alleged out of thoſe of the following Ages, only prove, that ſome Advantages attend them, and that they might be conſequently ſet up in Places of Worſhip, provided Care were taken that no Kind of Worſhip was given them. As the Emperor was, on this Occaſion, to write to the Pope, the Biſhops of the Council drew up, and ſent him, before they parted, a Sketch of the Letter, they thought, he ſhould write, and likewiſe of the Letter they wiſhed the Pope could be perſuaded to write to the Two Emperors *Michael* and *Theophilus*. Both Letters turned upon this, that, as the Uſe of Images is neither commanded nor forbidden in Scripture, they, who chuſe to have any, be allowed to have them, but not to worſhip them; and they, who chuſe to have none, be not obliged to have any; and that neither preſume to find Fault with

with the other, ſince neither can be charged with practiſing what is forbidden, or not practiſing what is commanded by lawful Authority. Year of Chriſt 825.

The Proceedings of the Council, and the Means they ſuggeſted of putting an End to ſo long a Diſpute, were highly approved by the Emperor; and he immediately diſpatched *Jeremiah* of *Sens*, and *Jonas* of *Orleans*, to acquaint his Holineſs with them, and try to divert him, if by any means they could, from countenancing a Worſhip, that gave ſo great Offence both to the *Greeks* and the *Gallican* Biſhops. Their private Inſtructions were, to uſe, in treating with the Pope, the utmoſt Circumſpection, advancing nothing raſhly, or that he could take amiſs; to read over together, with the greateſt Care and Attention, the Paſſages the Council had collected from the Scriptures and the Fathers againſt the Worſhipping of Images, and chuſe out of them thoſe that were moſt to the Purpoſe, and ſuch as neither the Pope nor his Council could reaſonably object to; to affect, above all things, great Moderation in their Conferences with his Holineſs, not openly contradicting him, but ſtriving to bring him, by their Complaiſance and Condeſcenſion, to hearken to Reaſon; but if he obſtinately withſtood all their Endeavours, and ſtill continued deaf both to Reaſon and Authority, yet to take care not to be wanting in the Reſpect that is due to his Dignity, but modeſtly repreſenting to him the many Evils that attend the preſent Diſagreement between the Eaſt and Weſt, leave his Holineſs to find out, and employ, the Means, that ſhould appear to him, in his great Prudence and Diſcretion, the beſt calculated to redreſs them.

Who ſends Two Biſhops to acquaint the Pope with the Reſult of the Council.

Inſtructions given them.

By the ſame Biſhops, the Emperor wrote a moſt obliging Letter to the Pope, in his own Name, and in the Name of *Lotharius* his Son, and Collegue in the Empire; recommending to him the *Greek* Embaſſadors, ſent by the Emperors *Michael* and *Theophilus*, to negotiate an Union between the Eaſt and the Weſt, and earneſtly entreating him to hearken to their Propoſals, to pity the diſtracted State of the Church, and concur with him in compoſing the Differences, that had ſo long ſubſiſted between the Churches of *Conſtantinople* and *Rome* [o]. What Reception the Two Biſhops met with from the Pope no Writer has informed us; nor what was tranſacted at *Rome* by the *Greek* Embaſſadors; or at *Conſtantinople* by *Halit-*

Lewis's *Letter to the Pope.*

[o] Goldaſt. p. 160—180.

Year of Christ 825.

garius Biſhop of *Cambrai*, and *Hufridus* Abbot of *Nonantula*, whom *Lewis* ſent, on this Occaſion, with the Character of his Embaſſadors, into the Eaſt. All we know for certain is, that the Pope ſtill continued to defend and promote the Worſhip of Images, though condemned in the ſtrongeſt Terms by the *Gallican* Biſhops; that he would hearken to no Terms of Agreement excluding that Worſhip; and that thereupon ſome of the moſt eminent Men for Piety and Learning in the *Gallican* Church, ſiding with the *Greeks*, undertook to impugn it. Amongſt theſe *Claudius* Biſhop of *Turin*, perhaps the moſt learned Man of that Age, declared, in a Treatiſe he wrote on this Occaſion, not only againſt the Worſhip, but againſt the Uſe of Images as well as the Worſhip, and cauſed them all, nay, and with them the Croſs, to be caſt out of the Churches throughout his Dioceſe, and conſigned to the Flames. That Treatiſe was anſwered by *Jonas* of *Orleans*, who, tho' no leſs averſe to the Worſhip of Images than *Claudius* himſelf, was yet for retaining them as Books for the Ignorant, and Helps to Devotion. But, on the other hand, *Agobard* was of Opinion, and that Opinion he maintained with great Erudition and Learning, that Images rather hinder than help true Devotion, and ought therefore to be excluded, as they were by the primitive Fathers, from all Places of Worſhip and Devotion [P]. However, that they were neither to be broken, nor to be worſhipped, was, it muſt be owned, the received Doctrine of the *Gallican* Church at this time; and that Doctrine they continued to profeſs, as will appear in the Sequel, long after the Ninth Century, retaining Images as Ornaments, as Books for the Ignorant, as Helps to Memory, but giving them no Kind of Worſhip, and charging thoſe with Idolatry, who gave them any.

The Doctrine of the Gallican *Church at this time concerning Images.*

To conclude: From what has been ſaid, it is manifeſt beyond all Diſpute, I. That the Authority of the Pope was not yet, that is, ſo late as the Ninth Century, thought deciſive by the *Gallican* Biſhops, nor he thought infallible, or incapable of erring, ſince they condemned, and condemned with one Voice, a Doctrine as erroneous and heretical, which ſo many Popes had taught *ex cathedra*, and defined. II. That thoſe Biſhops did not believe themſelves bound to receive a Council as œcumenical, tho' received as ſuch by the Pope; nor bound to ſubmit to its Deciſions, tho' approved and confirmed by the Pope; but thought themſelves at full Liberty to receive

They did not believe the Pope incapable of erring.

[P] Agobard. p. 142, 143. 254—266.

or

or reject them. III. That to reject a Council, and the Definitions of a Council, received by the Pope as œcumenical, was not at this time deemed Hereſy, ſince the Pope did not, as appears from Hiſtory, declare the *Gallican* Biſhops Heretics on that account, or exclude them from the Communion of the Apoſtolic See. Year of Chriſt 826.

Of Pope *Eugene* we hear no more till the Year 826, when he aſſembled a Council in *Rome*, conſiſting of 63 Biſhops, 17 Presbyters, and ſome Deacons; all from the *Italian* Provinces ſubject to the Emperor *Lewis*, or the Pope. By that Council were iſſued 38 Canons; all calculated to reſtore the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and encourage Learning both ſacred and profane [q]. *The Pope aſſembles a Council in* Rome.

The following Year the Pope died; but, as to the Time of his Death, we only know, that it happened in the Month of *Auguſt* 827, the contemporary Hiſtorians all telling us he died in that Month, but not One of them mentioning the preciſe Day on which he died. As he was ordained on the 14th of *February* 824, and died in *Auguſt* 827, he muſt have held the See at leaſt Three Years and Five Months. Eugene *dies.* Year of Chriſt 827.

MICHAEL *and* THEOPHILUS *Emperors of the Eaſt.*

VALENTINE,

LEWIS THE DEBONNAIRE *and* LOTHARIUS, *Emperors of the Weſt.*

Ninety-ninth BISHOP *of* Rome.

EUGENE was ſucceeded by *Valentine*, choſen, as is commonly ſuppoſed, after a few Days Vacancy. He was a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Peter*, and, at the Time of his Election, Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church. He was greatly eſteemed and beloved by the Two preceding Popes *Paſchal* and *Eugene*, eſpecially by the latter, who is ſaid to have cheriſhed him as his Son, and to have kept him conſtantly with him in the Palace [r]. Valentine *choſen.* Year of Chriſt 827.

From the Account *Anaſtaſius* gives of the Ordination and Inſtalment, or, as it is called, Inthronation, of this Pope, we learn the Particulars of both theſe Ceremonies. The new Pope was, according to that Account, attended by the *Roman* Clergy, the People, and the Senate, to the *Vatican*, was there firſt ordained, then placed *His Inthronation.*

[q] Eginhard. in annal. Lab. Concil. c. 8. Natal. Alex. ſect. 9. part. i. art. 4.
[r] Anaſt. in Valent.

Year of Chriſt 827.

in the ſuppoſed Chair of St. *Peter*, and from thence conducted in great Pomp, after he had performed divine Service, to the *Lateran* Palace, where he was inthroned, or ſet upon the Pontifical Throne, and acknowleged by the Nobility and the Senate proſtrating themſelves before him, and kiſſing his Foot, amidſt the Acclamations of the People. When the Ceremony was ended, the Pope gave a great Entertainment to the Chief of the Clergy, and the Officers of State, and enriched, to uſe the Word of *Anaſtaſius*, with many Gifts, the Clergy, the People, and the Senate[s].

His Death. *Valentine* enjoyed his new Dignity but a very ſhort Time, according to ſome, ſcarce One Month[t]; according to others, Forty Days[u]. He muſt therefore have died in the latter End of *September*, or the Beginning of *October*, of the ſame Year in which he was choſen. Indeed, from this Time to the Middle of the Eleventh Century, no Writer I know of, beſides *Anaſtaſius*, has been ſo accurate and exact as to mention the Months or the Days that each Pope ſate above the whole Years; and in *Anaſtaſius* the Numbers have been ſo altered, through the Inaccuracy or the Ignorance of the Tranſcribers, that, with reſpect to them, no Two Copies agree. We muſt therefore, henceforth, be ſatisfied with aſcertaining the Number of the Years, and gueſſing, where we can, at that of the Months and the Days.

THEOPHILUS *Emperor of the Eaſt.* **GREGORY IV.** LEWIS THE DEBONNAIRE *and* LOTHARIUS, *Emperors of the Weſt.*

The Hundredth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Gregory *elected.* *VALENTINE* being dead, *Gregory*, the Fourth of that Name, by Birth a *Roman*, the Son of one *John*, and Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, was either immediately, or after a very ſhort Vacancy, for we read of no Oppoſition, raiſed to the See in his room. However, as his Ordination was delayed, till the Emperor, then in *France*, was acquainted with his Election, and it was examined and confirmed by Deputies from thence ſent to *Rome*[w], we cannot well ſuppoſe him to have been ordained till the latter End of the preſent Year.

[s] Idem ibid. & Mabill. in comment. ad Ord. Roman. n. 18. [t] Eginhard. in annal. [u] Liber Pont. Luitprand. Martin. Pelon. &c. [w] Eginhard. in annal. Auctor vit. Lud. Pii Annaliſt. Bertin.

Of

Of this Pope nothing occurs in Hiſtory, worthy of Notice, till the Year 833, when he interpoſed in the Quarrel between the Emperor *Lewis* and his Three Sons, *Lotharius*, *Pepin*, and *Lewis*. Of that Quarrel, of the Diſturbances attending it, of the Part the Pope acted in it, the contemporary Hiſtorians give us the following Account: The Emperor had, ever ſince the Year 817, divided his Dominions, after the Example of his Father *Charlemagne*, amongſt his Children. *Lotharius*, his eldeſt Son, he had choſen for his Succeſſor in the Empire, and taken him for his Collegue; to *Pepin*, his Second Son, he had given the Kingdom of *Aquitaine*; and to *Lewis*, the youngeſt of the Three, the Kingdom of *Bavaria*. This Diviſion was approved by the general Aſſembly of the States at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; the Three Princes were crowned there with great Solemnity; the Act of Settlement was ſent to the Pope; and the Two Kings, repairing, as ſoon as they were crowned, to their reſpective Kingdoms, were everywhere received with loud Acclamations, and by all acknowleged for their lawful Sovereigns. But the Empreſs *Hermengard*, their Mother, dying the following Year 818, the Emperor was prevailed upon by his Nobles, apprehending him inclined to reſign the Crown, and lead a retired Life, to marry again; and he married *Judith*, Daughter to Duke *Welfo*, deſcended from a very ancient Family, and at that time One of the moſt powerful and illuſtrious in *Bavaria*. In 823, the Empreſs was delivered of a Son, who was called *Charles*, and is known in Hiſtory by the Name of *Charles the Bald*. His Birth obliged the Emperor to make a new Diviſion of his Dominions in favour of the young Prince, born after the former Diviſion, and conſequently left intirely to the Mercy of his Brothers. He publiſhed accordingly an Edict at *Worms* in 829, ſettling on Prince *Charles* the Country of the *Alemans*, or the Country lying between the *Mein*, the *Rhine*, the *Neckar*, and the *Danube*, all *Rhetia*, now the Country of the *Griſons*, and that Part of the Kingdom of *Burgundy*, that extends beyond Mount *Jura*; that is, the Country of the *Swiſs*, and *Geneva*.

Quarrel between Lewis the Debonnaire *and his Three Sons.* Year of Chriſt 833.

As the Share given to *Charles* was taken out of the largeſt of the Three, or out of that which *Lotharius* was to ſucceed to as Emperor, he loudly complained of the Injuſtice, as he called it, done him, and reſolved to leave nothing unattempted, that, he thought, could prevent the new Diviſion from taking place. With that View he gave out, and ſo did all his Friends and Adherents, who were very nume-

Year of Christ 833.

Charge brought againſt the Empreſs Judith, *who is ſhut up in a Monaſtery.*

numerous, that the Empreſs *Judith*, a true Step-mother, was determined to raiſe her Son to the Imperial Throne, and pave the Way for him to it by the Deſtruction of the whole Imperial Family; that, to the great Diſgrace of the Crown, ſhe entertained a criminal Commerce with Count *Bernard* her principal Miniſter; that ſhe had, in Conjunction with him, baniſhed all Men of Conſcience and Honour from the Court, and was concerting ſuch Meaſures as muſt end, if not timely defeated, in the Ruin of the Emperor, and all his true Friends. Theſe Reports, tho' probably deſtitute of all Foundation, alarmed not only the Kings of *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria*, and ſome of the great Lords of the Empire, but ſeveral of the moſt eminent Men in the Church for Probity, Wiſdom, and Learning; among the reſt *Bernard* Biſhop of *Vienne*, *Agobard* Biſhop of *Lions*, *Jeſſe* Biſhop of *Amiens*, *Hilduin* Abbot of St. *Denys*, and *Wala* Abbot of *Corbie*, reckoned the greateſt Saint of the Age. Theſe holy Men, giving intire Credit to the Reports they heard, and thereupon declaring all Enemies to God and his Church, who did not concur with them in reforming the Court, and effectually providing for the Safety of the Imperial Family againſt the wicked Attempts of the Empreſs and her favourite Miniſter, eaſily prevailed, firſt on the King of *Aquitaine*, and afterwards on *Lotharius*, and the King of *Bavaria*, to join them. The King of *Aquitaine*, drawing together his Troops in great Haſte, ſurpriſed the Cities of *Orleans* and *Laon*; and finding the Empreſs in the latter, the Emperor being then waging War with the Rebels in *Britany*, after reproaching her with her ſcandalous Conduct, and the evil Deſigns ſhe had formed againſt him and his Brothers, he obliged her to take the religious veil in the Monaſtery of St. *Radegonde* of *Poitiers*.

The Emperor received, at the ſame time, the News of this Revolt and the Captivity of the Empreſs; and, ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment at ſo bold an Attempt, he left *Britany*, and marched without Delay, but under the greateſt Concern, againſt his Son. But the King of *Aquitaine* being, in the mean time, joined by his Brother *Lotharius*, at the Head of a very numerous Army, and the Emperor's Troops, Officers as well as Soldiers, deſerting to them daily in whole Bodies, the unhappy Prince, thus left, in a ſhort Time, almoſt alone, was obliged to deliver himſelf up, with his Son *Charles*, to the Rebels. *Lotharius* treated him, in Appearance, with great Reſpect; but left him no Kind of Power or Authority, nothing but the bare Title

The Emperor delivers himſelf up to his Son Lotharius.

Title of Emperor; and of that Title too he flattered himſelf he ſhould prevail on the States, that were ſoon to meet, to diveſt him, and oblige him to reſign the Crown, and retire to a Monaſtery. But, in the mean time, the Kings of *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria*, jealous of the Power, and offended at the arbitrary and deſpotic Conduct of their Brother, began to think of abandoning him, and being reconciled with their Father. They were encouraged in that Thought by a Monk, named *Gombaud*, in whom they placed great Confidence; and by his means, as he was a Man of great Addreſs, the Reconciliation was ſoon brought about. *Lotharius*, finding himſelf thus abandoned by his Brothers, and his Party thereby weakened, in proportion as his Father's was ſtrengthened, thought it adviſeable to follow their Example, leſt, by his Obſtinacy, he ſhould forfeit, in the End, all Share in his Father's Dominions, and with it his Life, or his Liberty. As he was the firſt and chief Author of all the Diſturbances, and his Submiſſion was forced, and not voluntary, the Emperor, at the ſame time that he added ſome Cities and Territories to the Share of his Brothers, diveſted him of the imperial Dignity, declared the Subjects of the Empire abſolved from the Oath of Allegiance they had taken to him as Emperor, and leaving him only the Title of King of *Italy*, ſtrictly enjoined him to undertake, even there, nothing of Moment without his Conſent [z].

Year of Chriſt 833.

The Emperor and his Three Sons reconciled.

Thus was Peace reſtored to the Empire; but it was ſhort-lived: The Three Brothers revolted ſoon after anew, and were, by an Exceſs of Goodneſs, forgiven anew by the Emperor. His matchleſs Indulgence and good Nature encouraged the King of *Aquitaine* to revolt the Third time; which ſo provoked the Emperor, that he was eaſily prevailed upon by the Empreſs (who was returned to Court, her Profeſſion, as it was forced, having been declared null by the Pope and the Biſhops) to diſinherit *Pepin*, and give the Kingdom of *Aquitaine* to her Son Prince *Charles*. *Lotharius* wanted no better Pretence to fly to Arms, and try to recover his forfeited Dignity. He was then in *Italy*; and being ſenſible that he could by no other Means more effectually ſtrengthen his Party, and diſguiſe the Injuſtice of his Cauſe, than by engaging the Pope to eſpouſe it, he applied to *Gregory*; and pretending he had nothing in View but to defeat the wicked Deſigns of the Empreſs, at whoſe Inſtigation the Empe-

His Son Lotharius *rebels anew*;

[z] Thegan. c. 35—40. Vit. Lud. Pii, ad ann. 829—832. Nithard. vit. Wal. Albat. Eginhard. &c.

Year of Christ 833.

ror, diveſting himſelf of his natural Tenderneſs, had degraded him, tho' ſolemnly crowned by the holy Pope *Paſchal*; had diſinherited his Brother *Pepin*, to make room for her Son; and was purſuing ſuch Meaſures as muſt inevitably kindle a civil War in the Bowels of the Kingdom; he begged his Holineſs to ſecond him in an Undertaking, that would recommend him to the Love and Eſteem of all good Men, of all the true Friends of the Emperor, of the Imperial Family, and the Empire.

and perſuades the Pope to attend him into France.

The Pope, believing all he ſaid to be true, readily agreed not only to interpoſe his good Offices in his behalf, but to attend him in Perſon into *France*, and there mediate a Reconciliation between him and his Father. *Lotharius* was then upon the Point of ſetting out for *France*, at the Head of a conſiderable Army he had raiſed in *Italy*, not with a Deſign, as he pretended to the Pope, of defeating the ambitious and wicked Deſigns of the Empreſs, but to drive his Father from the Throne, and ſeize on the Empire. Having thus gained, or rather deceived, the Pope, he began his March, attended by him, and ſome of the chief Men of his Clergy, giving everywhere out, as he entered *France*, that his Holineſs, fully ſatisfied of the Juſtice of his Cauſe, had zealouſly eſpouſed it, and was come from *Italy* on Purpoſe to excommunicate the Emperor, and the Biſhops of his Party, if an End was not put to the unjuſt Perſecution of his innocent Children. Theſe Reports, induſtriouſly ſpread abroad by *Lotharius* and his Friends, had the wiſhed-for Effect; and Men flocked to him from all Parts, perſuaded he had Juſtice on his Side, ſince the Pope had declared in his favour.

The Emperor forbids the the Biſhops to wait on the Pope.

In the mean time the Emperor, hearing, to his inexpreſſible Surprize, that the Pope was come into *France* with *Lotharius*, and taking it for granted that he had gained him over to his Cauſe, wrote a circulatory Letter to the Biſhops, to put them in mind of their Allegiance, and forbid their waiting on the Pope, or entertaining any Kind of Commerce with him ſo long as he continued with the Rebels; nay, he charged *Agobard*, Biſhop of *Lions*, to write againſt the Pope, and expoſe his Conduct, at the preſent Juncture, in ſiding with a Son, who had ſet up the Standard of Rebellion againſt his Father. *Agobard*, tho' a Prelate of a moſt unexceptionable Character, and One of the moſt learned in *France*, was moſt unaccountably prejudiced againſt the Empreſs and the Miniſters; and therefore, inſtead of writing againſt the Pope, or blaming his Conduct,

Conduct of Agobard, *Biſhop of* Lions, *on this Occaſion.*

he

he wrote a Letter to the Emperor, entreating him not to quarrel with his Holineſs, but to treat him with all the Reſpect that was due to his Character. Were the Pope come, ſaid he, to raiſe Diſturbances in the Kingdom, or to foment thoſe that have already been raiſed, you might and ought, in that Caſe, to drive him out with Shame and Diſgrace; but, as he has undertaken this Journey with no other View but to re-eſtabliſh Peace and Tranquillity, by removeing the Cauſe of all the Diſturbances, you ought not only to receive but obey him. *Agobard* pretended, that the Diſturbances were all owing to the Intrigues of bad Counſellors, and the wicked Meaſures ſuggeſted by them; that the Emperor could not in Conſcience annul the Act of Settlement, after it had been confirmed in a general Aſſembly of all the States of the Empire, and approved by the Pope; that as the Empire was, by that Act, ſettled on *Lotharius*, and the Kingdoms of *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria* on *Pepin* and *Lewis*, he could not, without the greateſt Injuſtice, take from them what he himſelf, and with him the whole Nation, had given them. He added, that the Pope, ſenſible of the Injury that was done them, and well appriſed of the Malice and Craft of deſigning and evil-minded Men, was come into *France*, to interpoſe his good Offices; nay, and to exert, if his good Offices proved unſucceſsful, all his Authority in behalf of their oppreſſed Innocence. He cloſed his Letter with telling the Emperor, that having taken an Oath of Allegiance to *Lotharius* as Emperor, he thought himſelf bound by that Oath to join and ſupport him[y]. Year of Chriſt 833.

Letter from the Biſhops of the Emperor's Party to the Pope.

On the other hand, the Biſhops of the Emperor's Party, hearing that the Pope had attended *Lotharius* into *France*, with a Deſign, as was given out, to excommunicate the Emperor and his Friends, agreed, at a Meeting they had on that Occaſion, to write a Letter to him in common, and try to divert him from ſo raſh and unprecedented an Attempt. In the Letter they tell him, that the News of his Arrival in *France* had given them great Joy, as they flattered themſelves he was come with no other View or Deſign but to interpoſe his good Offices, and mediate a Reconciliation between the contending and oppoſite Parties; and they would therefore have gone out to meet him, had they not been reſtrained from ſhewing him that Mark of Regard by an expreſs Command from the Emperor;

[y] Agobard. de comparat. utriuſque regimin.

Year of Chriſt 833.

that if what they all heard was true; *viz.* that his Holineſs was come to excommunicate the Emperor, and his Friends, it could not be expected they ſhould ſhew him any kind of Regard; and the Emperor had done well in forbidding all Intercourſe between his loyal Subjects and him; that an Excommunication ſo unjuſt, ſo contrary to the Practice and Canons of the Church, would reflect no leſs Diſgrace on the Pontifical Authority, that would thereby be brought into Contempt, than on the Imperial Dignity; that, if he came to excommunicate, he might return excommunicated, *ſi excommunicaturus veniret, excommunicatus abiret*; that, in ſo preſumptuous an Attempt, he would meet with a more vigorous Reſiſtance from the *German* and *Gallican* Biſhops than perhaps he expected; that, if he did not change his Mind, they would not allow his Authority to be acknowleged in *France*, or in *Germany*. In the Cloſe of their Letter, they put him in mind of the Oath of Allegiance he took to the Emperor upon his Promotion; and even threaten to depoſe him for preſuming to come into *France* with the Emperor's Enemies, and without his Permiſſion. They likewiſe threaten with Degradation the Biſhops, who, unmindful of their Allegiance, had joined the Rebels; adding, that ſhould their Obſtinacy oblige the Emperor to proceed to Extremities, the Sentence pronounced againſt them would be irreverſible[z].

The Pope's Anſwer to their Letter.

This Letter alarmed the Pope; but being encouraged by *Wala* Abbot of *Corbie*, and his Companion *Paſcaſius*, pretending that the Vicar of St. *Peter* was impowered by God to determine all Differences whatever, and that all Men were to be judged by him, and he by none, he anſwered the Biſhops in a Stile that gave great Offence both to them and the Emperor, and left no room to doubt but he had been gained over to the Party of the Rebels. He begins his Anſwer with upbraiding them for ſtiling him at the ſame time Pope, that is, Father and Brother; Titles that he thinks incompatible; and tells them, that they ſhould only have given him the Title of Father, as the more reſpectful of the Two; as if it were Preſumption in the *Gallican* Biſhops to call him their Brother, tho' no Title was more frequently given by the other Biſhops to the Pope, nor by the Pope to other Biſhops, as might be ſhewn by innumerable Inſtances. They ſtiled him Father and Brother *in the Lord*; and in that Senſe the

[z] Epiſt. Greg. IV. ad Epiſcopos Francorum, & Vita Walæ.

Two

Year of Chriſt 83.

Two Titles are not incompatible. In theSecond place, the Pope finds Fault with the Biſhops for not coming out to meet him, but ſuffering themſelves to be diverted, by the Command of the Prince, from ſhewing him that Mark of Reſpect that was due to his Character; and wonders they did not know, that the ſpiritual Government of Souls ought to take place of the temporal Government of Princes and Kings; that is, in other Words, they ought to obey him rather than the Emperor, and, to wait on him, ſhould have diſobeyed an expreſs Command of their Leige Lord and their Sovereign. He adviſes them to imitate the Freedom of the holy Pope *Gregory*, who was not afraid to tell the Emperor, that he too was One of his Flock; that he ought to hearken to him, and act agreeably to his Directions. But the Freedom taken by Pope *Gregory* was only with reſpect to Matters of Faith and Religion, as is plain from his Words, and not to civil Matters, as in the preſent Caſe, and merely political, that have no kind of Connection with Faith or Religion. The Biſhops had put the Pope in mind of his Oath of Allegiance; and, in Anſwer to that, he tells them, that, by his Oath, he is bound to give the Emperor good Advice; to acquaint him with his own Faults, and thoſe of his Miniſters; to rebuke him if he does not correct them, and ſuggeſt to him ſuch Meaſures as ſeem the beſt calculated to reeſtabliſh Peace and Tranquillity both in the State and the Church; that for theſe Purpoſes alone he is come into *France:* Whereas they, betraying their Truſt, and proſtituting their Honour as well as their Conſciences, to the Will of their Prince, have, by a Breach of their Oath, encouraged him in all his bad Meaſures, and ought therefore to be charged with the Evils attending them. By *bad Meaſures*, the Pope means the Emperor's diveſting *Lotharius* of the Imperial Dignity, and *Pepin* of his Kingdom, tho' they had forfeited both by their Rebellion. As for their threatening to excommunicate him, or have him depoſed, he bids them Defiance, as they can lay no heinous Crime to his Charge, no Theft, no Murder, or Sacrilege; which was tacitly owning, that he might be excommunicated and depoſed, were he guilty of any ſuch Crimes. In the End of his Letter, he delivers it as his Opinion, gained over, no Doubt, by *Agobard*, and the other Biſhops and Monks of that Party, that the Emperor ought to ſtand to the Diviſion he had formerly made of his Dominions, and could not, in Juſtice, deprive any of his Children of the Share allotted them; condemning thereby the Conduct of the

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Father, and juſtifying that of the Children in rebelling againſt him. And could not the Emperor, who made the Diviſion, for juſt Reaſons alter it? Did not the Birth of a Son after that Diviſion, fully juſtify the Alteration he made? Was that Son to be left to the Mercy of his Brothers, that is, quite deſtitute? What the Pope obſerves in his Letter, is true, *viz.* that they had all taken an Oath of Allegiance to *Lotharius* as Emperor; but that Dignity he had forfeited by his Rebellion, and, under a leſs merciful Parent, would have forfeited his Life or his Liberty as well as his Dignity. The Oath, therefore, they had taken to him was no longer binding; but as that was ſtill binding they had taken to the Emperor, it was a Breach of his Oath in the Pope to join the Rebels; and no Breach of their Oath in the Biſhops, but Duty and Loyalty, to ſtand by the Emperor.

The Pope's Letter was immediately communicated to the Emperor; who no longer doubting but the Rebels had gained him to their Party, and at the ſame time ſenſible that his Preſence, as it authorized, in a manner, their Rebellion, would daily draw great Numbers of Eccleſiaſtics, and, by their means, Men of all Ranks, to their Party, thought it adviſeable to put the Whole, without further Delay, to the Iſſue of a Battle. The Kings of *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria* had joined *Lotharius* when he firſt entered *France*; and they were all Three encamped between *Bale* and *Strasbourg*. Againſt them the Emperor marched at the Head of his Army; but they, well appriſed that the longer they delayed giving Battle, the more ſure they would be of the Victory, as many, abandoning the Emperor, came daily over to them, bethought themſelves of ſending the Pope to negotiate, as they pretended, a Reconciliation between them and their Father, but, in Truth, with no other Deſign but to gain Time, and acquire new Strength, as they daily did. The Pope, whom they uſed on this, and had uſed on all other Occaſions, as a mere Tool, proud of his Commiſſion, immediately repaired to the Emperor's Camp, that was but at a ſmall Diſtance from that of the Rebels. The Emperor received him at the Head of his Army, with great Coldneſs, treated him as his Vaſſal, and ſeverely rebuked him for abuſing the Authority his Character gave him, to encourage Children in an unnatural Rebellion againſt their own Father; for preſuming to come into *France* without his Leave, which none of his Predeceſſors had had the Aſſurance to do; and for ſtriving to ſeduce, by his Letters,

The Pope ſent by the Rebels to the Emperor.

How received.

the Biſhops, who, in Compliance with their Oaths and their Duty, had ſided with him. The Pope ſtrove to appeaſe him; aſſuring him, that he was come into *France* with no other Deſign but to re-eſtabliſh Concord and Peace in the Imperial Family. Hereupon the Emperor, willing to hearken to any reaſonable Terms of an Accommodation, ordered him to be conveyed to his Quarters, and at the ſame time diſpatched *Bernard*, Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, to treat, in his Name, with the Three Princes, and try to bring them to a Senſe of their Duty. The Pope continued ſome Days in the Camp; and having had, during that time, ſeveral Conferences with the Emperor, he was ſent back, upon his promiſing to employ his good Offices with the Princes, and to return in a ſhort Time to acquaint him with the the Succeſs that might attend them. But the Night after he left the Emperor's Camp, and he left it on St. *Peter*'s Day, he was followed by almoſt the whole Army; inſomuch that the unhappy Prince, finding himſelf abandoned by all, and at the ſame time ſo cloſely beſieged by the Rebels, that it was in vain for him to attempt an Eſcape, was obliged to deliver himſelf up, with the Empreſs, and his Son *Charles*, into the Hands of his rebellious Children. By them he was depoſed; and *Lotharius* being proclaimed Emperor in his room, he was confined to a Monaſtery, obliged to own Crimes he had never committed, and thereupon to exchange, as really guilty of thoſe Crimes, the Imperial Robes for the Habit of a Penitent [a].

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The Emperor delivers himſelf up to the Rebels.

Baronius, undertaking the Defence of the Pope, pretends, that his Holineſs never declared for, or took part with, the Rebels [b]. But the Letter he wrote to the *Gallican* Biſhops, quoted above, is a full Anſwer to all that the Annaliſt has alleged, or that can be alleged, to clear him from countenancing ſo unnatural and ſo wicked a Rebellion. However, he ſeems to have borne no Ill-will to the Emperor, but to have been impoſed upon by thoſe of the oppoſite Party, and to have given intire Credit to the many falſe Reports that were by them induſtriouſly ſpread abroad to colour their wicked Deſigns; *viz.* that the Empreſs had gained an abſolute Aſcendant over the Emperor; that he was wholly governed by her Counſels; that all the Diſorders in the State and the Church, which they exaggerated beyond all Meaſure, were owing to her; that ſhe aimed at nothing leſs than the Deſtruction of the whole Imperial Family to make room for her Son; and that it was not againſt the Emperor, but

The Pope how far to blame in this Affair.

[a] Vit. Lud. Pii. Vit. Walæ. Thegan. &c. [b] Bar. ad ann. 833. p. 823.

againſt

Year of Christ 833.

againſt her, and in their own Defence, that the Three Princes had taken up Arms. Theſe Reports the Pope too raſhly believed; and he is therein greatly to blame. But he was, it ſeems, undeceived by the Emperor, in the Interview he had with him: For we are told by a contemporary Writer, that, being ſent back after that Interview to treat with the Rebels, he was for returning to the Emperor's Camp; but they did not think it adviſeable to let him return [c]. *Theganus* Biſhop of *Treves*, who was probably at this very time in the Field with the Emperor, writes, that *Lewis*, after having conferred with the Pope, ſent him many valuable Preſents; which it is not at all likely he would have done, had the Pope ſtill maintained the Cauſe of the Rebels, and juſtified their Rebellion. Some Writers, as ready to charge the Popes with Crimes, of which they were innocent, as *Baronius* is ready to clear them from the Crimes of which they are guilty, aſcribe to the Intrigues of *Gregory* the general Deſertion that enſued in the Imperial Camp the Night after he left it, as if he had laid hold of the Opportunity he had, while in the Camp, to debauch and gain them over to the Rebels. But of this his pretended Treachery not the leaſt Hint is given by the Writers of thoſe Times; and his propoſing to return to the Emperor, clears him ſufficiently from that Imputation.

The Emperor reſtored.

The Emperor did not long continue in the deplorable Condition, to which the Treachery of his Subjects, and the Perfidy of his Children, had reduced him. The barbarous Uſage he met with from *Lotharius*, ſoftened the other Two Princes; and Compaſſion prevailing over all other Regards, they reſcued him the very next Year out of his Hands, and replaced him, to the great Satisfaction of all Ranks of Men, on the Throne. But as the Pope was no-ways concerned in his Reſtoration, I ſhall refer the Reader, for the Particulars attending it, to the Writers of thoſe Times.

The Pope fortifies Oſtia.

Year of Chriſt 834, 835.

The Rebels, having no further Occaſion for the Name or Authority of the Pope, when they had once got the Emperor into their Power, allowed him to return to *Rome*; and there he employed himſelf the Two following Years, 834, 835, in repairing and adorning the Churches and Monaſteries of that City, and in rebuilding and fortifying the City of *Oſtia* againſt the Incurſions of the *Saracens*, who began to infeſt the neigbouring Coaſt. That City he intirely rebuilt, ſurrounded it with a very high Wall, and a deep Ditch,

[c] Auct. vit. Lud. Pii.

forti-

fortified it with many ſtrong Towers, and placed a great Number of warlike Engines on the Towers and the Wall, to throw Stones, and repulſe the Barbarians. The City, thus rebuilt and fortified, he called, from his own Name, as *Frodoard* informs us, *Gregoriopolis* [d]; but it ſoon reſumed its ancient Name, and by that Name it is known to this Day. Year of Chriſt 835.

The Abbot Adrebald *ſent by the Emperor to* Rome. Year of Chriſt 836.

In the mean time, the Emperor, having ſettled the Affairs of the Empire to his intire Satisfaction, and apprehending no further Diſturbances from his Subjects or his Children, reſolved to undertake a Journey to *Rome*, to viſit the holy Places there, and confer with the Pope; but being diverted from that Journey by a ſudden Irruption of the *Normans* into *Frieſland*, he ſent the Abbot *Adrebald* to *Rome*, to adviſe with the Pope, in his Name, concerning ſome particular Affairs not mentioned by the Hiſtorian. The Pope received the Abbot with extraordinary Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, expreſſed great Joy in hearing that all Matters were ſettled to the Satisfaction of the Emperor, and, tho' greatly indiſpoſed, and troubled with a Bleeding at the Noſe, that had laſted ſome time, he had ſeveral Conferences with the Envoy, and, upon his Departure, appointed Two Biſhops to attend him into *France*, with a Letter, which they were to deliver into the Emperor's own Hands. They ſet out together from *Rome*; but, on their Arrival at *Bologna*, the Two Biſhops were ſtopt by an Order from *Lotharius*, who was then at *Pavia*, and commanded to proceed no farther. They complied with the Order; but privately delivered the Letter they were charged with to *Adrebald*, who got it conveyed by One of his Domeſtics, in the Diſguiſe of a Beggar, into *France*; and there it was returned to him, and by him delivered to the Emperor [e]. *Lotharius* had lately ſuffered his Men to pillage ſome Lands belonging to the Church of St. *Peter*; and he probably apprehended, that the Two Biſhops were ſent by the Pope to complain of that Outrage to the Emperor.

Authority of the Imperial Judges in Rome.

In the Pontificate of Pope *Gregory*, in what Year we know not, occurs a remarkable Inſtance of the Authority exerciſed by the Imperial Judges in *Rome*. I have obſerved elſewhere, that the Emperors, as ſupreme Lords of *Rome*, uſed, from time to time, to ſend Judges to adminiſter Juſtice there; to hear the Complaints of the People; to redreſs their Grievances; and finally to determine all Cauſes both

[d] Frodoard. in frag. de Pont. Rom. apud Mabill. ſect. 3. Benedict. part. 2.
[e] Auct. vit. Lud. Pii.

Year of Chriſt 836.

civil and criminal. To theſe Judges *Ingoald* applied, then Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Farfa* in the Dukedom of *Spoleti*, complaining, that the Popes *Hadrian* and *Leo* had ſeized by force, *per fortiam*, on Five Poſſeſſions or Farms belonging to the above-mentioned Monaſtery; that the Monaſtery had reclaimed thoſe Poſſeſſions of the Three ſucceeding Popes, *Stephen*, *Paſchal*, and *Eugene*, but always in vain; that, inſtead of reſtoring them, they had even pretended, that they had always belonged to the Apoſtolic See, and had never been poſſeſſed by the Monaſtery. The Judges hearkened to the Complaints of the Abbot, and the Cauſe was tried in the *Lateran* Palace, the Pope himſelf being preſent, and with him ſeveral Biſhops, and other Perſons of Rank and Diſtinction. The Abbot, to make good his Claim, produced the original Inſtrument of the Donation of thoſe Lands made to the Monaſtery, and likewiſe the Charter of *Deſiderius*, the laſt King of the *Lombards*, and of *Charlemagne*, who ſucceeded him in that Kingdom. But *Gregory*, the Pope's Counſel, queſtioning the Authenticity both of the Inſtrument and the Charters, which, if allowed to be authentic, would at once have put an End to the Diſpute; the Judge, at a loſs what to determine, declined coming to any Determination that Day, probably that the Inſtrument and the Charters might, in the mean time, be examined by Perſons skilled in ſuch Matters with more Care and Attention. But the next Day, ſeveral Perſons appearing, of unexceptionable Characters, and depoſing, upon Oath, that, in their Memory, the diſputed Lands had been poſſeſſed by the Monaſtery, and quietly poſſeſſed, till Pope *Hadrian* ſeized them, they knew not upon what Pretence; they were adjudged to the Monaſtery, and a Decree was iſſued, ordering them to be forthwith reſtored. The Pope, one ſhould think, would have acquieſced in ſo juſt a Sentence, and reſtored, without Heſitation, to the lawful Owners, what ſo plainly appeared to have been unjuſtly ſeized by his Predeceſſors. But with thoſe good Biſhops it was a Maxim, ſo far as we can judge from their Conduct, to part with nothing they had once acquired, by what means ſoever they had acquired it: *Gregory* therefore, inſtead of complying with the Sentence, and the Decree of the Judges, however equitable, appealed from them to the Emperor; but with what Succeſs we know not[f].

[f] Chronic. Farf. apud Mabill. in Muſeo Italic. t. i. part. 2. p. 62.

Of

Of this Pope I find nothing elſe recorded that is worthy of Notice till the Time of his Death, which happened, according to the moſt probable Opinion, on the 25th of *January* 844, after he had governed the *Roman* Church Sixteen Years, and ſome Months and Days [g]. He is ſaid by ſome to have died on the 25th of *January* 843; but with them *Eaſter-day*, or the 25th of *March*, was the Firſt Day of the new Year. *Death of* Gregory. Year of Chriſt 844.

Two Letters, aſcribed to *Gregory*, have reached our Times; the one reſtoring *Ebbo* Archbiſhop of *Reims*, depoſed in 835, as One of the chief Authors of the late Rebellion, to his former Dignity and his See [h]. But as from Hiſtory it appears, that *Ebbo*, after the Death of *Gregory*, applied to his Succeſſor, begging to be reſtored, and was only admitted by him to Lay Communion, the Letter of *Gregory*, *To the Biſhops and Orthodox Chriſtians*, commanding the Biſhop of *Reims* to be re-inſtated in his Dignity, is now univerſally looked upon as ſuppoſititious [i]. By the other Letter, the Pope appoints *Anſcharius*, who had converted the *Swedes* and *Danes* to the Chriſtian Faith, Legate of the Apoſtolic See to all the Northern Nations of *Germany*, approves the erecting the City of *Hambourg*, where *Anſcharius* was to reſide, into an Archiepiſcopal See, and confirms all the Privileges granted to that See by the Emperor. *His Writings.*

MICHAEL *Emperor of the Eaſt.* LOTHARIUS *Emperor of the Weſt.*

SERGIUS II.

The Hundred and Firſt BISHOP *of* Rome.

IN the room of *Gregory* was choſen, and ordained on the 10th of *February*, which, in 844, fell on a *Sunday*, *Sergius*, the Second of that Name, the Son of one *Sergius*, a Native of *Rome*, and Archprieſt of the *Roman* Church [k]. He was not choſen without Oppoſition: *John*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, ſupported by the Populace, took Poſſeſſion by Force of the *Lateran* Palace; and having driven *Sergius* from thence, was placed by the Populace in the Pontifical Chair; but he was ſoon driven out, in his Turn, by the *Roman* Sergius *elected, and his Competitor driven from the See.*

[g] Sigibert. Marian. Siſt. Herman. Contract. annal. Bertin. Sigon. Onuph. &c.
[h] Concil. t. viii. p. 1575. [i] Vide Sirmond. in Append. ad Concil. Gall. t. iii.
[k] Anaſt. in Serg. II.

Year of Chriſt 844.

Nobility, who would have put him to Death, had not *Sergius* interpoſed in his favour [1].

The Emperor reſents his being ordained before his Election was confirmed by him.

As the new Pope was ordained as ſoon as elected, *Lotharius*, who had ſucceeded his Father in the Imperial Dignity ever ſince the Year 840, heard at the ſame time of his Election and Ordination; and highly provoked at his having been ordained before his Election was examined and confirmed, according to Cuſtom, by him, or his Deputies, he diſpatched his eldeſt Son *Lewis*, whom he had appointed King of the *Lombards*, with a powerful Army into *Italy*, to take Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, and at the ſame time to examine the Election of the Pope, to chaſtiſe the *Romans* for their Preſumption, and order Matters ſo as to prevent their encroaching for the future on the juſt Rights of his Crown. The young Prince was attended by a great many Biſhops, and other Perſons of Diſtinction, among whom was his Uncle *Drogo* Biſhop of *Mets*; and, upon his entering the Eccleſiaſtical State, he committed every-where moſt dreadful Ravages, put great Numbers of the Inhabitants to the Sword, burnt their Habitations, and turned the whole Country, through which he paſſed, into a Deſart. However, as he bent his March towards *Rome*, the Pope ſent out all the Judges and Magiſtrates to meet him, while yet at the Diſtance of Nine Miles from the City. He was received, when One Mile from the Gate, by all the *Roman* Militia, by the Nobility, and Part of the Clergy, and attended by them ſinging his Praiſes, and by the People welcoming him with repeated Acclamations, to the *Vatican*. There the Pope, with the reſt of the Clergy, waited his Arrival on the Top of the Steps leading up to the Church; which the King aſcending, he embraced the Pope, and taking hold of his right Hand, they thus advanced together to the Door of the Church; but, when they were upon the Point of entering the Baſilic, the Pope, unexpectedly ſtopping, ordered all the Doors to be ſhut; and then turning to the King, *If you come*, ſaid he, *as a Friend, and for the Good of the State, and this Church, I ſhall order the Doors to be opened; if not, they ſhall not be opened by me, nor by my Command.* The King, not a little ſurpriſed at the Reſolution of the Pope, aſſured him, that he was come with no evil Intention; which he had no ſooner done, than the Doors were opened, and the King, entering the Church with the Pope, was conducted by him to the Tomb of St. *Peter*, the Clergy ſinging in the mean time,

His Son Lewis *lays waſte the* Roman *Territories.*

[1] Anaſt. in Serg. II.

Bleſſed is he who cometh in the Name of the Lord. There Thanks were returned, with great Solemnity, to God, and his Apoſtle, for the ſafe Arrival of the King; who, taking leave of the Pope when Prayers were ended, returned, attended by all the *Roman* Nobility, to his Camp. He had ſignified to the Pope his Deſire of being crowned and anointed by him King of the *Lombards*; and that Ceremony *Sergius* performed the following *Sunday*, the 15th of *June*, with the greateſt Pomp and Magnificence [m]. Year of Chriſt 844. *He is crowned by the Pope King of* Italy

Lewis, tho' well pleaſed with the Reception he met with at *Rome*, and the uncommon Regard the *Roman* Nobility paid him; yet, to puniſh them for ſuffering the new Pope to be ordained before his Election was approved by the Emperor, he allowed his Army to pillage their Farms, to lay waſte their Lands, and to live as in an Enemy's Country. The City would, in all Likelihood, have fared no better than the neighbouring Country, had not the Pope, apprehending the Danger, ordered all the Gates to be ſhut, and the Walls to be Night and Day guarded by the *Roman* Militia. In the mean time, the King's Camp was filled with Biſhops from the different Provinces of *Italy*, come, upon their hearing that the King and the Pope were at Variance, to complain of the daily Uſurpations of the Popes, and the Tyranny they exerciſed over them and their Sees. Amongſt theſe were the Archbiſhops of *Ravenna* and *Milan*, and no fewer than Thirteen Biſhops immediately ſubject to the Apoſtolic See; and they all greedily laid hold of the preſent Opportunity, encouraged, ſays *Anaſtaſius*, by the Archbiſhop of *Mets*, to redeem themſelves from ſo galling a Yoke. The King, glad of any Pretence to humble the Pope, not only hearkened to the Complaints of the Biſhops, but ordered them to be examined by the Biſhops who were with him, and likewiſe by the Counts, of whom *Anaſtaſius* names Seven, aſſembled in Council, and ſummoned the Pope to appear before them, and juſtify the Conduct of his See. That Council *Anaſtaſius* ſtiles a *Cabal againſt the univerſal Church, and Head of all Churches.* The Pope, however, obeyed the Summons, and, if we may credit that Writer, anſwered the Complaints of his Adverſaries with ſuch Prudence and Wiſdom, as confounded and ſilenced them all [n]. The King was probably ſatisfied with having thus humbled and mortified the Pope for ſuffering himſelf to be ordained without the Knowlege and Conſent of the Emperor. *Complaints againſt the Pope.*

[m] Anaſt. ibid. [n] Idem ibid.

Year of Chriſt 844.

Before the Council was diſmiſſed, *Drogo* moved, that an Oath of Allegiance might be taken to King *Lewis* by the Pope, and the *Roman* Nobility and People. But this Motion, tho' ſeconded by all the *Gallican* Biſhops, was vigorouſly oppoſed by the Pope; declaring, that they were all ready to ſwear Allegiance to their great Emperor *Lotharius*,; but that he neither would take ſuch an Oath himſelf, nor ſuffer the *Romans* to take it to the King of the *Lombards*. The Motion was therefore dropt; and both *Drogo* and the King contented themſelves with the Pope's taking, in their Preſence, together with the *Romans*, the uſual Oath of Allegiance to the Emperor [o]. And hence it is manifeſt, that the Pope and the *Romans* acknowleged the Emperor for their Leige Lord; and that the King of *Italy* could exerciſe no Power or Authority, but in the Emperor's Name, over them or the City.

The Pope and the Romans *take an Oath of Allegiance to the Emperor.*

The Pope appoints Drogo *his Vicar in* France *and* Germany.

As great Confidence was repoſed in *Drogo* by the Emperor, as well as the King, and he bore great Sway in both Courts, the Pope, to gain ſo powerful a Protector, appointed him, before he left *Rome*, his Vicar in *France* and in *Germany*, with a Power over all thoſe Churches and Biſhops, to be controuled by none but the Pope himſelf, as the immediate Vicar of St. *Peter*. In the Letter *Sergius* wrote on this Occaſion to the Biſhops of *France* and *Germany*, he beſtows the higheſt Encomiums upon *Drogo*; acquaints them with his having preferred him, in Conſideration of his high Birth, and his eminent Virtues, to the Dignity of his Vicar; and requires them to obey him in all Things, as acting in his Name, and by the Authority of his See. But *Drogo* finding, upon his Return to *France*, the *Gallican* Biſhops too jealous of their Liberties, and too much upon their Guard againſt all Papal Encroachments, to acknowlege his unbounded Authority, he wiſely forbore exerciſing or claiming any over them, or their Churches; and he is on that Account highly commended by *Hincmar*, as chuſing rather to forego his Power, than to maintain it at the Expence of the public Peace and Tranquillity [p]. Happy had it been for the Church, had all Biſhops, eſpecially the Biſhops of *Rome*, been actuated by ſuch Chriſtian Principles: But alas! what greater Diſturbances have been raiſed by the Ambition of temporal Princes in the State, than by the Ambition of theſe ſpiritual Princes in the Church? And what elſe is the Hiſtory of the Church, to the great Diſgrace of the Chriſtian Religion, but the

Drogo's *Conduct on that Occaſion.*

[o] Idem ibid. [p] Hincmar. ep. 44. & l. vii. Concil. p. 1799.

Hiſtory

History of Anti-christian Disputes and Quarrels of Churchmen about Power and Pre-minence?

Year of Christ 844.

The King renewed, during his Stay at *Rome*, the Imperial Edict, forbidding the Pope, how canonically soever elected, to be ordained, till his Election was approved and confirmed by the Emperor; severely reprimanded the Pope, as well as the People and Clergy, for having presumed to transgress that Edict, and recommended to all the strict Observance of it, on Pain of incurring the Displeasure of the Emperor, and his. He made several other Regulations, in the Emperor's Name, with respect to the Government of *Rome*, and the better Administration of Justice; and then quitting, to the great Joy of the Pope and the *Romans*, the Neighbourhood of the City, he repaired with his Army to *Pavia*, the Residence of the Kings of *Italy*, or the Kings of the *Lombards* [q].

Edict forbidding the Pope to be ordained till his Election was confirmed by the Emperor.

I find nothing else recorded of *Sergius*, besides his admitting *Siconulph*, Duke of *Benevento*, to kiss his precious Feet, as *Anastasius* expresses it, and his rebuilding, repairing, and embellishing with Pictures and other Ornaments, the Churches of *Rome*, and robbing the Cemeteries to enrich them with Reliques [r]. Indeed this seems to have been the chief, if not the whole, Employment of the Popes at this time. *Sergius* died on the 27th of *January* 847 [s]; and consequently, as he was ordained about the 10th of *February* 844. he must have held the See Three Years, wanting some Days. In the latter End of the Pontificate of *Sergius*, the *Saracens*, entering with a numerous Fleet of small Vessels the *Tiber*, landed at *Rome*, burnt the Suburbs, plundered the Churches of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* without the Walls, and retired, unmolested, with an immense Booty, and a great Number of Captives.

Sergius *dies.* Year of Christ 847.

Lotharius *and* Lewis, *Emperors of the West.*

LEO IV.

Michael, *Emperor of the East.*

The Hundred and Second Bishop *of* Rome.

SERGIUS was not yet buried, when *Leo*, the Fourth of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, the Son of *Rodulph*, and Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, was chosen with one Voice in his room, was carried by Force to the *Lateran* Palace, and placed, with the usual

Leo *chosen, and ordained, before his Election was confirmed by the Emperor.*

[q] Anast. in Serg II. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Annal. Bertin.

Cere-

Year of Christ 847.

Ceremonies, and loud Acclamations, on the Pontifical Throne. However, he was not ordained till the 11th of *April*, that is, till Two Months and Fifteen Days after his Election; and the Cauſe of ſo long a Delay was, that the new Pope, not daring to ſuffer himſelf to be ordained till his Election was confirmed by the Emperor, waited the Arrival of his Deputies to examine and confirm it. But as neither the Deputies arrived, nor did the Meſſengers return, whom the Pope had ſent to acquaint the Emperor with his Promotion, and at the ſame time the *Saracens* appeared anew on the neighbouring Coaſt, the *Roman* Senate were of Opinion, that the Imperial Edict might be diſpenſed with at ſo critical a Juncture; and *Leo* was accordingly ordained, at their Requeſt and Deſire, on the 11th of *April*, which, in 847, fell on *Eaſter-Monday*. On this Occaſion, however, they took care to proteſt and declare, that, in cauſing the Pope to be thus ordained, they did not intend, by any means, to derogate from the juſt Rights of the Imperial Crown, or to decline complying with the Ordinance of *their Leige Lord, whom, next to God, they were bound to obey* [t].

Enriches the Churches of St. Peter *and St.* Paul;

The firſt Care of the new Pope was, to reſtore to their former Splendor the Churches of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, which the *Saracens* had ſtripped of all their valuable Ornaments; and the Quantity of Gold, of Silver, of precious Stones, he is ſaid by *Anaſtaſius* to have employed for that Purpoſe, almoſt exceeds all Belief. A very ſmall Portion of the Wealth he thus wantonly laviſhed away, would have afforded a comfortable Maintenance to all the Poor of the City.

and undertakes the Building of the Leonine *City.*

Leo's next Care was, to ſecure ſo great a Treaſure againſt any new Attempts of the *Saracens*; and with that View he reſolved to execute the Deſign, which his Predeceſſor *Leo* III. had formed, but was prevented by Death from putting it in Execution; *viz.* to build a new City on the *Vatican*, and incloſe it, as well as the Church of St. *Peter*, with a Wall, leſt ſo much Wealth ſhould be left expoſed to the ſacrilegious Avarice of every Corſair. That Reſolution he imparted to the Emperor; who not only approved of it, but generouſly contributed, and prevailed on his Two Brothers, *Charles* King of *Neuſtria*, and *Louis* King of *Bavaria*, to contribute no leſs generouſly than himſelf, towards carrying on ſo great and ſo neceſſary a Work. The *Roman* Nobility too, applauding the Deſign, aſſiſted the Pope with large Sums to undertake the Execution of it without

[t] Anaſt. in Leon. IV.

De-

Delay. *Leo* therefore, being thus encouraged to begin, and enabled to purſue the intended Work, the Materials were got ready, Artificers and Workmen were, with the Promiſe of extraordinary Wages, enticed from the different Provinces of *Italy* to *Rome*, and the Foundations of the new City were laid in the Month of *September* of the preſent Year, with the greateſt Solemnity. The Pope took upon himſelf the Office of Overſeer, ſpending all the Time he could ſpare from his ſpiritual Functions in reviewing the Works, which he is ſaid to have done every Day, and in all Kinds of Weather, in encouraging the Workmen, and examining what Progreſs they made in their reſpective Tasks or Duties [u].

Year of Chriſt 847.

Fortifies Rome.

This great Undertaking the Pope, however, was obliged to interrupt for ſome time the following Year, being certainly informed that the *Saracens* were equipping a powerful Fleet in the Ports of *Africa*, with a Deſign to make a Second Attempt upon *Rome*. This Intelligence occaſioned a general Conſternation; and *Leo*, abandoning for the preſent the Work he had begun, employed all his Workmen in fortifying the City, and putting it in a Condition to withſtand any ſudden Attack or Surprize. He repaired the Walls in ſeveral Places, gone quite to Decay, rebuilt moſt of the Towers, erected ſeveral new ones, Two eſpecially of great Strength on the oppoſite Banks of the *Tiber*, with a Chain drawn from the one to the other, to prevent any Veſſel from paſſing; and, to defend the City ſtill more effectually, cauſed a great many Bodies of Saints, dug up in the Cemeteries without the Walls, to be brought into it with great Pomp and Solemnity.

Year of Chriſt 849.

The Fleet of the Saracens *intirely deſtroyed.*

In the mean time the *Saracens*, having aſſembled their Fleet at *Tozar* in *Sardinia*, the Place of their general Rendezvous, ſet Sail from thence for *Porto*, with a Deſign to land Part of their Forces there, and convey the reſt up the *Tiber* to the very Gates of the City. But the Inhabitants of *Naples*, of *Amalfi*, of *Gaeta*, and the other maritime Places, no ſooner heard of their Deſign, than apprehending their own Fate depended upon that of *Rome*, they aſſembled in great Haſte all their armed Veſſels, and putting to Sea, ſailed to *Porto*, reſolved to guard the Entrance into the River, and to engage the Barbarians, ſhould they offer to enter it, or to land any Forces. Upon their Arrival, they ſent ſome of their chief Officers to let the Pope know that they were come as Friends (for he diſtruſted the

[u] Idem ibid.

Greeks

Year of Christ 849.

Greeks and the *Beneventan Lombards*, to whom thoſe Cities belonged), and that they were all to a Man ready to venture their Lives in his Defence, and the Defence of the City. Hereupon the Pope, tranſported with Joy, flew to *Porto*, received there both the Soldiers and Officers with extraordinary Marks of Eſteem and Affection, admitted them to kiſs his Foot; and, upon expreſſing a great Deſire to receive the Sacrament at his Hands, he went with them in Proceſſion to the Church of St. *Aurea*, and having performed there divine Service with great Solemnity, and adminiſtered the Sacrament to them all, he encouraged them to fight manfully, having St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, whoſe ſacred Bodies they defended, to fight with them, gave them his Bleſſing, and recommending them to the Protection of the Prince of the Apoſtles, returned to *Rome*. The very next Day, the Fleet of the *Saracens* appeared off *Oſtia*; and the Chriſtian Fleet putting thereupon immediately to Sea, an Engagement enſued; but the Two Fleets were ſoon parted by a violent Wind, that aroſe unexpectedly, and drove moſt of the Enemy's Ships on the Shore, where they were daſhed to Pieces, and all on board miſerably periſhed. The reſt were diſperſed, and either ſwallowed up by the Sea, or ſhipwrecked againſt the Rocks and the Iſlands; and very few had the good Luck to reach the *African* Coaſt. The *Saracens* were almoſt all either drowned, ſtarved with Hunger on the abandoned Iſlands where their Veſſels were ſhipwrecked, or taken Priſoners, and carried in Triumph to *Rome*. There, and all along the Coaſt, great Numbers of them were hanged, and left on the Gibbets, to ſtrike Terror into their Countrymen, and the reſt were put in Chains by the Pope, and employed as Drudges in the moſt laborious Parts of his new Works[w]. This Victory or Deliverance was, we may be ſure, aſcribed to the miraculous Interpoſition of the Saints, eſpecially of the Two Princes of the Apoſtles. By them the Storm was raiſed; by them alone the Fleet of the *Saracens* was diſperſed and deſtroyed.

Lewis *King of* Italy, *crowned Emperor at* Rome. Year of Chriſt 850.

While the *Romans* were at the Height of their Rejoicings for ſo remarkable a Victory, *Lewis* King of *Italy* arrived at *Rome*, ſent thither by his Father, who had lately taken him for his Collegue in the Empire, to be crowned Emperor by the Pope. *Leo* received him with all the Marks of Diſtinction due to his Character, and crowned him, with the uſual Ceremonies, on the 2d of *December*

[w] Idem ibid.

of

of the preſent Year. As *Leo* had been ordained before his Election was confirmed by the Emperor, the *Romans* were under no ſmall Apprehenſions of the King's reſenting it, as he had reſented but a few Years before their ſuffering *Sergius* to be thus ordained. But *Lewis* was intirely ſatisfied with the Reaſons they alleged, and their having proteſted on that Occaſion that they did, by no means, intend to withdraw themſelves from the Obedience they owed to their Leige Lord and Sovereign. Year of Chriſt 850.

Leo, in the mean time, purſued with incredible Ardor the great Work he had begun in the Second Year of his Pontificate; and he had in the Sixth the Satisfaction of completing it, and ſeeing the Baſilic of the Prince of the Apoſtles, that had hitherto ſtood by itſelf, defended only by the Reverence that was due to ſo ſacred a Place, ſtanding now in the Midſt of a City, and defended, where that Reverence ſhould be wanting, by a ſtrong Wall. The new City was, from the Name of its Founder, called the *Leonine City*; and the Pope conſecrated it with great Solemnity on the 27th of *June*. He walked on that Occaſion in Proceſſion with ſeveral Biſhops, and all the *Roman* Clergy, round the new Wall bare-foot, ſprinkled it with holy Water, and ſtopping at the Three Gates, ſaid at each of them a different Prayer; begging the Almighty, by the Merits of his holy Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* (not of Chriſt) to pour down his Bleſſings on the City which he had built, and, from his own Name, called the *Leonine City*; to grant it new Triumphs over thoſe againſt whom it was built; and to preſerve it from ever falling into the Hands of its cruel and mercileſs Enemies. When the Proceſſion was ended, the Pope performed divine Service in the Church of St. *Peter*; at which aſſiſted the whole *Roman* Clergy in a Body, the Senate, all the Nobility, and a great many Strangers of Diſtinction, come from all Parts to ſee the new City, and be preſent at the Ceremony of its Conſecration. After divine Service, the Pope, whoſe Treaſure was not, it ſeems, to be exhauſted, ordered conſiderable Sums to be diſtributed among the People, and Preſents to be ſent to all Perſons of Diſtinction, both *Roman* and foreign, then in *Rome*. Such is the Account *Anaſtaſius* gives us of the building and conſecrating of the *Leonine City*; and he was an Eye-witneſs of what he relates [x]. *The* Leonine *City conſecrated.* Year of Chriſt 852.

[x] Idem ibid.

Council assembled at Rome. Year of Christ 853.

Leo, being now at Leisure to attend to Ecclesiastical Affairs, and discharge the Duties of his Episcopal Office, undertook, with great Zeal, to reform the Manners of the Clergy, and redress the many Abuses that prevailed among them as well as the Monks. With that View he assembled, in the Month of *December* 853, a Council at *Rome*, consisting of Sixty-seven Bishops. By them some new Canons were issued, and the Observance of others, that had been formerly made, enforced, on Pain of Deposition, Excommunication, *&c.* all calculated to restore the Ecclesiastical Discipline, and banish the many Abuses that had insensibly crept into the Church. The Council took particular Care, as most other Councils had done, tho' to very little Purpose, to prevent the Bishops and Clerks from frequenting the Company of Women, from admitting them into their Houses, or conversing familiarly with them. By the same Council Divorces were forbidden in all Cases, but in that of Adultery; and married Persons restrained from embracing a monastic Life, without the Consent of the Bishop; who was charged to inquire, with great Care, whether both truly agreed to it, and if they did not, to deny his Consent.

Anastasius *deposed by the Pope and the Council.*

The Pope and the Bishops of the Assembly deposed, before they parted, and deposed with one Consent, *Anastasius*, Cardinal Presbyter of the Church of St. *Marcellus* in *Rome*. He had been Five Years absent; and tho' commanded by the Pope to return, and even excommunicated for paying no kind of Regard to his repeated Commands, he still continued to live, unconcerned, in the Diocese of *Aquilea*, pretending, that the Pope had there no sort of Power or Authority over him. He was therefore solemnly deposed; and the Sentence, declaring him divested of all Sacerdotal and Ecclesiastical Dignity, was signed by the Pope, and all the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, who were present[y]. It is observable, that this Council is said to have been held *in the Seventh Year of the Pontificate of the most holy and universal Pope* Leo *IVth*; and this is the First Instance we meet with of any public Deeds marked with the Years of the Popes, or of their Pontificate.

Alfred *sent by his Father to be educated at* Rome.

The same Year came to *Rome* the famous *Alfred*, sent by his Father *Æthelwulf*, King of the *West-Saxons*, to be educated there under the Care and Direction of the Pope, being then scarce Four Years old; for he was born in 849. *Asserius*, who lived with him,

[y] Idem ibid.

and

and wrote his Life, tells us, that *Leo* confirmed him; that he adopted him for his Son; and anointed him King [z]; but of what Kingdom, neither that Writer, nor any other, has informed us. As for the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, it was then held by his Father; and he had Three other Sons, who were all older than *Alfred*, and came to the Crown before him. Year of Chriſt 854.

As the *Saracens* continued, notwithſtanding their late Diſaſter, to infeſt the Coaſt, the Pope fortified, at a great Expence, the City of *Porto*, planted there a Colony of *Corſicans*, and not only yielded to them for ever that City, and its Territory, upon their ſwearing Allegiance to him and his Succeſſors, but generouſly ſupplied them with Horſes, with Oxen, with Tools of Agriculture, and Arms to repulſe the *Saracens*, ſhould they offer to attack them. He likewiſe rebuilt the Walls of *Hortana* and *Amerina*, quite gone to Ruin, and of many other Cities on the Coaſt, left altogether defenceleſs to the Mercy of the Enemy. The Inhabitants of *Centumcellæ* had abandoned their City, chuſing rather to wander like wild Beaſts in the Woods, than to live in conſtant Fear of being either maſſacred by the *Saracens*, or carried by them into Captivity, with their Wives and their Children. The Pope was affected with the Miſeries they ſuffered; and he determined, notwithſtanding the immenſe Sums he had already expended, to build them a new City. He went accordingly in Perſon to look out for a convenient Place to build it on; but, tho' he viewed, and narrowly examined, every Spot in that Part of the Country, he could find none that he intirely approved of. But Heaven interpoſed; and a moſt convenient Situation for the intended City was pointed out to him in a Dream, nay, and the Plan ſhewn him, which he was to conform to in building it. The Plan he copied in his Sleep, found it, when he awaked, in his Hand, and had, in a very ſhort Time, the Satisfaction of ſeeing a new City raiſed in the Place, and in every Part anſwering the Plan that Heaven had ſhewn him [a]. Thus *Anaſtaſius*; and he probably learnt the Story he relates from the Pope himſelf, who might not ſcruple to uſe that *pious* Invention or *Fraud* to get his Deſign the more readily approved, and the more ſpeedily executed: For who would not approve, who would not, with the greateſt Ardor and Eagerneſs, concur in the Execution of a Plan or Deſign ſent down from Heaven? The Pope conſecrated the new City with the very ſame Ceremonies, Pomp, *Colony of* Corſicans *ſettled at* Porto. Year of. Chriſt 854. *And the City of* Centumcellæ *rebuilt.*

[z] Vit. Alfred. [b] Anaſt. ibid.

Year of Christ 854.

and Solemnity he had uſed in conſecrating the *Leonine City*; and, from his own Name, called it *Leopolis*, the ſame Name in *Greek* that he gave to the other in *Latin*. I leave *Anaſtaſius* to reconcile his thus tranſmitting his Name to Poſterity with the utter Contempt he is ſaid by that Writer to have entertained of all human Glory. In Proceſs of Time, the Inhabitants of the new City, diſliking its Situation, and either forgetting, or not believing it had been pointed out by Heaven, abandoned it, and returned to *Centumcellæ*, which they called *Civita Vecchia*, that is, the ancient City; and ſo it is called to this Day [b].

The Emperor comes to Rome.

Leo had ſcarce finiſhed his new City, when News was brought him, to his great Surprize, of the Arrival of the Emperor *Lewis* in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. As he came quite unexpected, at the Head of a numerous Army, and no one knew with what Deſign, his Arrival threw the whole City into the utmoſt Conſternation. He was, however, met and attended, according to Cuſtom, by the *Roman* Magiſtrates, the Clergy and Nobility, to the *Vatican*, and there received, with the uſual Marks of Diſtinction, by the Pope. It does not appear that he entered the Church on this Occaſion, or viſited the Tomb of St. *Peter*. He only acquainted the Pope with the Motive of his Journey, which, he ſaid, was to puniſh the Author of a Plot, that was privately carried on againſt him and the *French* Nation in general. The Pope, not in the leaſt daunted, as being conſcious of his own Innocence, begged he would name the Perſon, and appoint a Day for his Tryal, ſince no Man could be lawfully puniſhed till he was heard, and convicted of the Crimes laid to his Charge. The Emperor named *Gratian*, Commander of the *Roman* Militia, One of the Pope's Counſellors, and a Man of the Firſt Rank and Diſtinction in *Rome*; and charged him with having, in a private Converſation, ſollicited *Daniel*, another Commander of the Militia, to join him in driving out the *French*, and calling in their old Friends the *Greeks* in their room. This Charge *Daniel*, ſaid the Emperor, is ready to make good: A Day was therefore appointed for the Tryal; and *Gratian* was accordingly tried in the Preſence of the Pope, of the Emperor, of the *Roman* Senate, and all the *French* Nobility who attended the Emperor. Before that Aſſembly *Daniel* renewed the Accuſation with great Aſſurance; but *Gratian*, in the Courſe of the Tryal, made his Innocence ſo

Gratian, *Commander of the* Roman *Militia, tried, and acquitted.*

[a] Bruzen. Martin. Dict. Geograph. et Crit.

plainly

plainly appear, and convicted the Informer of such palpable Contradictions, that he was obliged in the End to own, that the Whole was a Calumny, intirely owing to Malice and Envy. Hereupon *Gratian* was cleared, and *Daniel* delivered up to him, agreeably to the *Roman* Law, that still obtained in *Rome*, to be disposed of by him at his Pleasure. The Emperor, however, begged, that his Life might be spared; and *Gratian* accordingly spared it [c]. Year of Christ 855.

The Emperor left *Rome* as soon as the Tryal was over, intirely satisfied of the Loyalty of *Gratian*, and the *Romans* in general; and the Pope died soon after his Departure, that is, according to the most correct Copies of *Anastasius*, and the other Chronologists, on the 17th of *July* 855, having presided in the *Roman* Church Eight Years, Three Months, and Six Days [d]. In this Pope centered, if *Anastasius* is to be credited, all moral and Christian Virtues, without the Allay of one single Vice or Defect; and it is not to be doubted but the Place he now holds amongst Saints in the Calendar, was owing to the high Commendations that Writer bestows on him, and the Miracles he is by him said to have wrought. Amongst these, the following was alone sufficient to convince the World of his extraordinary Sanctity: A Basilisk of an immense Size haunted a Cave in the Neighbourhood of the Church of St. *Lucia* in *Orphea*, and, with its venomous Breath, killed all who approached the Mouth of the Cave. Thus was that Part of the City soon turned into a Desart, all flying from thence to avoid the Contagion. But *Leo*, pitying their Condition, undertook, as soon as he was ordained, to deliver them from so troublesome a Neighbour. In order to that, he went in Procession, after a general Fast, with all his Clergy, to the Church of St. *Mary ad Præsepe*, and from thence to the Cave, causing an Image of the Virgin *Mary* to be carried before him. As he approached the fatal Place, he ordered the Clergy and People to stop, and boldly advancing alone to the very Mouth of the Cavern, pronounced some Prayers there, returned unhurt; and the Basilisk was never more heard of [e]. Against this Miracle might be objected the Authority of *Pliny*, telling us, that the Basilisk is no-where to be met with, but in the Province of *Cyrenaica* in *Africa* [f]. But that Objection *Baronius* has answered, by letting us know, that when

Leo *dies, and is sainted.* Year of Christ 855.

Miracle wrought by him.

[c] Anast. in Leo. IV. [d] Anast. Herman. Contract. Orderii, Vital. Martin. Pelon. &c. [e] Anast. ibid. [f] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 21.

Year of Chriſt 855.

God wants to puniſh the Sins of Men, every Country produces every noxious Creature [f].

The Diſpute about Grace and free Will firſt moved in Leo's Time.

In *Leo*'s Time was firſt moved by a Monk named *Gotheſcalque*, the famous Diſpute about Grace, Predeſtination, and free Will, that divided the whole *Gallican* Church into Two oppoſite Parties, and was long carried on, with great Warmth, by the moſt eminent Men of that Church. But as the Pope never interfered in the Controverſy, nor did any of either Party ever think of appealing to him, or asking his Opinion (an irrefragable Proof that they did not look upon him as an unerring Judge in religious Diſputes), I ſhall refer the Reader, for an Account of that Diſpute, to the contemporary Writers, eſpecially to *Rabanus* of *Mentz*, to *Hincmar* of *Reims*, and *Amolo* of *Lions*, who were the chief Actors in it, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves, above the reſt, by their Erudition and Learning.

Leo's Homily.

Leo wrote an Homily, calculated to inſtruct the Clergy in the Duties of their Office; and ordered it to be read by the Biſhops in the Aſſemblies of the Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſes. It has reached our Times, and is to be found in the Collection of the Councils [g].

Pope JOAN.

The Adventures of Pope Joan, *as related by ſeveral Writers.*

AFTER *Leo* IV. and before *Benedict* III. is commonly placed the famous Pope *Joan*, by thoſe who believe that ſuch a Pope ever exiſted. But before I inquire whether ſuch a Pope ever exiſted, or not, the Reader will expect ſome Account of the Birth, of the Education, of the various Adventures, of ſo extraordinary a Woman, before, as well as after, ſhe attained to the Pontifical Dignity, as it has been delivered down to us by the Writers, who ſpeak of her as a real, and not as a fabulous Perſon. She was, according to moſt of thoſe Writers, the Daughter of an *Engliſh* Miſſionary; who, leaving his own Country, went over to *Germany*, with great Numbers of his Countrymen, to inſtruct the *Saxons*, whom *Charlemagne* had converted with his victorious Army to the Chriſtian Religion. The Miſſionary carried over his Wife with him, which obliged him, as ſhe was big with Child, to ſtop at *Ingelheim*; and there ſhe was delivered of a Daughter, whom ſome call *Joan*, and others *Agnes*,

[f] Bar. ad ann. 847. p. 52. [g] Concil. l. viii. p. 33.

Gerbert,

Gerbert, *Iſabel*, *Marguerite*, *Dorothy*, and *Jutt*. As *Joan* (ſo I ſhall call her, as ſhe is moſt commonly known by that Name) ſhewed from her Infancy a ſtrong Inclination to the Study of Letters, and her Father, who was a Man of great Learning, indulging that Inclination, took upon him to inſtruct her, ſhe made under him ſuch aſtoniſhing Progreſs in the different Branches of Literature, that ſhe was looked upon by all as a Prodigy. Her Paſſion for Learning did not render her inſenſible to a Paſſion of a different Nature. As ſhe was no leſs famous for her Beauty and Addreſs than for her Genius and her Learning, a young Monk, of the Monaſtery of *Fuld* in *Germany*, fell violently in Love with her; and his Flame kindling one no leſs violent in her Breaſt, it was agreed between them, that, to enjoy more freely the Company of each other, ſhe ſhould privately withdraw from her Father's Houſe, ſhould diſguiſe her Sex, and, in that Diſguiſe, apply to the Abbot to be admitted into the ſame Monaſtery. She was then only Twelve Years old; but her Paſſion inſpiring her with a Reſolution ſuperior to her Age as well as to her Sex, ſhe forſook her Parents unaffected, and diſſembling her Sex, preſented herſelf to the Abbot, and ſo impoſed upon him by an aſſumed Modeſty, and a pretended Deſire of conſecrating herſelf from her tender Years to God, and avoiding the Temptations of the World, that might, in Confederacy with her Paſſions when they grew ſtronger, rob her of her Innocence, that he embraced her with great Joy, and received her, as a moſt promiſing Youth, amongſt his Monks. And now the Two Lovers had, to their inexpreſſible Satisfaction, Opportunities every Day of ſeeing one another, of converſing familiarly together, and expreſſing to each other the Violence of their Paſſion, undiſturbed and unſuſpected. However, they are ſaid to have kept, notwithſtanding the Violence of their Paſſion, within Bounds in indulging it; but within what Bounds we are not told; and to keep any Bounds in indulging a violent Paſſion, is a Task to which few, if any at all, are equal. The Lovers did not long continue in that happy State; but eloping together, for what Reaſons we are not informed, from the Monaſtery, they came privately over to *England*, the young Monk being a Native of this Country. Here they purſued their Studies together with uncommon Application. From hence they went to *France*, from *France* to *Italy*, and from *Italy* to *Greece*; ſtopping where-ever they found Maſters or Profeſſors capable of improving them in the Knowlege they had already acquired.

In *Greece* they chose *Athens* for the Place of their Abode, to perfect themselves there in the Knowlege of the *Greek* Tongue. They had not been long at *Athens*, when the Monk was taken ill, and died in a few Days, in spite of all the Care that could possibly be used to save his Life. How deeply the surviving Lover was affected with so fatal a Blow, no Words can express. Not able to bear the Sight of any Thing or Place she had ever seen with him, she resolved, in the same Disguise, to repair to *Rome*; not to visit the holy Places there, but to divert her Mind from dwelling too intensely upon the irreparable Loss she had sustained, and alleviate her Grief with the Sight of so many great Objects as would offer themselves there to her View. She had no Occasion to repent of that Resolution: Her extraordinary Talents made her soon known in that great Metropolis; and her Modesty, her Address, her engaging Behaviour, gained her the Esteem as well as the Affection of all who knew her. To display her Talents, she opened a School; and had the Satisfaction of seeing it frequented by Persons of the first Rank and Distinction, by the most learned Men at that time in *Rome*; nay, and by the public Professors themselves, not ashamed, nor thinking it any sort of Disparagement for them to become her Disciples. Thus she continued gaining daily new Reputation and Credit, not by her Knowlege and Learning alone, but by a Conduct, in Appearance, quite blameless, and an outward Shew of extraordinary Sanctity, being ever the foremost in all public Exercises of Piety and Devotion.

Is chosen Pope.

In the mean time died Pope *Leo* IV. and tho' Men of extraordinary Merit were not then wanting in *Rome*, yet was a Woman preferred to them all, and, as of all the best qualified for so high a Station, raised with one Voice by the People and Clergy to the Pontifical Throne. Thus did the World behold a Woman sitting in the Chair of St. *Peter*, and the Keys, with the Power of loosening and binding, fallen to the Distaff. How long she was suffered thus to impose on the Christian World, is not agreed amongst Authors; but in this all agree, that neither the People nor the Clergy had Occasion, till she was discovered, to repent of their Choice; for she was discovered in the End, and the Discovery of her Sex was owing to the same Passion that first prompted her to disguise it. Had she been as chaste as many other Women, who are said to have disguised their Sex before her Time, as well as after it, she might have continued undiscovered, as well as they, to the Hour of her Death; but

but Chaſtity was a Virtue that ſhe had been an utter Stranger to ever ſince her Infancy, and Opportunities now offering daily to gratify an Inclination that ſhe never had the Reſolution to withſtand, ſhe yielded to it at all Adventures, diſcovered herſelf to One of her Domeſtics, on whoſe Secrecy ſhe knew ſhe could rely, and diſcloſing to him all her Secrets, took him in the room of her former Lover. He was true to his Truſt; and to none was their Intimacy known till the Conſequences, naturally attending it, betrayed it to the World. Her Holineſs proved with Child; and we are told, that having preſumed, in that Condition, to exorciſe a Demoniac, and command the Devil to tell her when he was to quit the Body he poſſeſſed, the evil Spirit anſwered, *Tell me firſt, you who are Pope, and the Father of Fathers, when a ſhe Pope is to be brought to-bed, and I will then tell you when I am to quit the Body I poſſeſs* (A). That Anſwer was underſtood by thoſe who heard it as importing no more, than that the Devil never would depart from that Body; and no Notice was therefore taken of it.

In the mean time her Holineſs advanced in her Pregnancy; but not thinking herſelf ſo near her Time as ſhe really was, ſhe unluckily ventured to aſſiſt at a Proceſſion, the annual Proceſſion of the Rogation-Week. In that Week, the Week preceding *Whitſuntide*, extraordinary Devotions were performed to preſerve the Fruits of the Earth yet tender and liable to be blaſted; and the Pope walked, in ſolemn Proceſſion, with all the Clergy, from the *Vatican* Baſilic to the *Lateran*. She might have excuſed herſelf; and a Woman of her Art and Addreſs could not be at a Loſs to find Pretences to excuſe herſelf from attending ſo long and ſo fatiguing a Ceremony: But ſhe choſe to attend it, not apprehending that ſhe was ſo near her Time, ſay ſome Writers; while others gravely tell us, that, touched with Remorſe, ſhe ſincerely repented of her Wickedneſs; and that an Angel being thereupon ſent from Heaven to offer her the Alternative, to be either eternally damned in the other World, or endure in this the Confuſion that was due to her Sins, ſhe choſe of the Two Evils the leaſt. However that be, ſhe ſet out in Proceſſion from the *Vatican*, attended, according to Cuſtom, by the Clergy in a Body, by the Senate, and immenſe Crowds of People, and walked with great Eaſe till ſhe came to the Street between the Church of St. *Clement*

(A) *Papa Pater Patrum Papiſſæ pandito partum;*
Et tibi tunc edam de corpore quando recedam.

and the Amphitheatre. There ſhe was ſuddenly ſeized with the Pains incident to Women in her Condition; fell, overcome by the Violence of thoſe Pains, to the Ground; and while all about her were ſtriving to help her up, and afford her ſome Relief, not knowing what had befallen her, ſhe was, in the public Street, and in the Preſence of the whole Multitude, delivered of a Son, or, as a Monkiſh Poet expreſſes it, of a little Pope (B). Some ſay, that both the Mother and the Child died on the Spot; and others, that the Child died; but that the Mother was preſerved by a kind of Miracle, to atone, as ſhe did in a Dungeon, for her Wickedneſs (C). They add, that, to perpetuate the Memory of ſuch an extraordinary Adventure, a little Chapel was built, and a Statue erected, in the Place where it happened, both to the Mother and the Child; and that, in Deteſtation of the Fact, the Popes and the *Roman* Clergy have ever ſince, in their Proceſſions from the *Vatican* to the *Lateran*, turned off from that Street, chuſing rather to go a good Way about than to paſs through ſo infamous a Place. Not ſatisfied with thus ſhewing their Deteſtation and Abhorrence of ſuch a ſcandalous Impoſition, to prevent their being thus impoſed upon for the future, they introduced the immodeſt Cuſtom of placing the new Pope on a perforated Stool, before he was ordained, and obliging the youngeſt Deacon to ſatisfy himſelf and them, that the Perſon, whom they had choſen, was not a Woman; *Mas eſt*, cried the Deacon; and the Clergy anſwered, *Deo gratias*.

Is delivered of a Son in the public Street.

Her Adventures unknown to Marianus.

Such is the Account they give us of the Birth, Education, Adventures, and unhappy End of the celebrated Pope *Joan*. But it is to be obſerved, that of none of the various Circumſtances and Incidents, with which they have embelliſhed her Story, has the leaſt Notice been taken by *Marianus Scotus*, who flouriſhed 200 Years after her Time, and is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt that mentioned her. All he ſaid of her, if he ſaid ſo much, was, that *to* Leo IV *ſucceeded* Joan, *a Woman, who held the See Two Years, Five Months, and Four Days*. Whatever elſe we read of her, has been added by Writers who lived, ſome One, ſome Two, ſome Three, and ſome Four hun-

(B) *Papa Pater Patrum peperit Papiſſa Papellum.*

(C) She is nevertheleſs repreſented by *Mantuanus* hanging, with her Lover, at the Entry into Hell:

Hic pendebat adhuc, ſexum mentita virilem
Fœmina, cui triplici Phrygiam diademate mitram
Suſpendebat apex; et Pontificalis adulter, ſays that Poet.

dred

dred Years after *Marianus*, and may conſequently be looked upon as fabulous. However, as a Fact, true in itſelf, may be, and often is, related with ſuch Circumſtances as render it incredible, I ſhall examine here the Fact in queſtion, abſtracting from the Circumſtances with which later Writes have embelliſhed it, and only inquire, whether *Leo* IV. *was ſucceeded by* JOAN *a Woman?*

Not impoſſible that a Woman ſhould have been raiſed to the Pontifical Dignity.

And, in the Firſt place, I cannot at all agree with *Panvinius*, that God never would have ſuffered *the See of St.* Peter, *founded by Chriſt himſelf, to be ſacrilegiouſly profaned by a Woman* [h]; ſince he himſelf is forced to allow, and ſo is *Baronius*, the See of St. *Peter*, tho' founded, according to them, by Chriſt himſelf, to have been ſacrilegiouſly profaned by the *moſt wicked of Men*, by Monſters of Iniquity, by the Lovers, the Bullies, the Baſtards of public Proſtitutes, Proſtitutes governing *Rome* with an abſolute Sway, and raiſing their chief Favourites to the *See of St.* Peter. Neither can I agree with thoſe, who think it impoſſible that a Woman ſhould have diſguiſed her Sex ſo artfully, as to be raiſed, quite unſuſpected, to the Pontifical Dignity: For Inſtances are not wanting of Women, who have diſguiſed their Sex no leſs ſucceſsfully than *Joan* is ſaid to have done, and have lived, quite unſuſpected, till Death diſcovered them, or they diſcovered themſelves. Thus did *Eugenia*, Daughter to *Philip* Governor of *Alexandria* under the Emperor *Gallienus*, diſguiſe herſelf ſo as to be admitted into a Monaſtery of Monks, nay, and to be made Abbot; and ſhe would have continued undiſcovered to the Hour of her Death, had ſhe not diſcovered herſelf to ſave her Reputation, being impeached of an Intrigue with a Woman of ill Fame, to the great Scandal of all the Monks. The Fact is related by *Alcimus Avitus*, who was Archbiſhop of *Vienne* in the Sixth Century, in his Poem upon *Virginity* [i]. In like manner *Theodora* of *Alexandria*, having committed a Fault in her Youth, reſolved to conceal the Sex ſhe had diſgraced, and atone for it in a Monaſtery. She was accordingly admitted by the Abbot in the Diſguiſe of a Man, and, thus diſguiſed, acted her Part ſo well; that One of her own Sex conceived a violent Paſſion for her; and being ſlighted by her, to revenge that Slight, gave herſelf up to one capable of gratifying her vicious Inclination, and laid to *Theodora* the Child ſhe had by him. *Theodora* might have eaſily confuted the Calumny; but ſhe choſe rather to be thought guilty, to be driven, with Diſgrace, out of the Monaſtery,

[h] Onuph. Panvin. ad Platin. in Johan. VIII. [i] Alcim. Avit. Poemat. l. vi.

nay, and to bring up the Child as her own, than to pull off the Mask. *Nicephorus Caliſtus* [k], and the Author of the *Golden Legend*, to whom we are indebted for this Account, add, that *Theodora* was re-admitted, after ſome Years of Penance, into the Monaſtery; that ſhe led there, quite unſuſpected, a penitent and exemplary Life; and that the Secret was not diſcovered till after her Death.

A Woman ſaid to have been raiſed to the See of Conſtantinople.

Many other Inſtances occur in Hiſtory of Women, who have diſguiſed themſelves no leſs ſucceſsfully than Pope *Joan* is ſuppoſed to have done; nay, it was even ſaid, and commonly believed, if Pope *Leo* IX. is to be credited, that a Woman had introduced herſelf into the Patriarchal See of *Conſtantinople*. That Report, indeed, the Pope did not believe; but yet thought that ſuch a thing might poſſibly have happened: And, in a Letter he wrote to *Michael* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, he expreſſes himſelf thus; "Far be it from "us to believe what is confidently reported to have happened to the "Church of *Conſtantinople*; *viz.* that by promoting, as ſhe does, "ſo many Eunuchs to the Patriarchal See, contrary to the Firſt Ca"non of the Council of *Nice*, ſhe had once placed a Woman on "that See. The Enormity of the Fact, joined to our fraternal Be"nevolence, does not allow us to credit that Report; but yet, when "we reflect on the little Regard you pay to the Canons, and the Cuſ"tom, that obtains in your Church, of admitting Eunuchs not only "to holy Orders, but even to the Patriarchal Dignity, we cannot "help thinking, that ſuch a thing might poſſibly have happened [l]." Now, if it was not thought by *Leo* abſurd or incredible, that God ſhould have ſuffered the See of *Conſtantinople*, tho' founded, as is pretended, by the Apoſtle St. *Andrew*, to be profaned by a Woman, why ſhould it be thought abſurd or incredible that God ſhould have ſuffered the See of *Rome*, tho' founded, as is pretended, by the Apoſtle St. *Peter*, to be profaned by a Woman? If *Leo* did not think it impoſſible for a Woman to diſguiſe her Sex ſo artfully as to be raiſed, quite unſuſpected, to the See of *Conſtantinople*; why ſhould we think it impoſſible for a Woman to diſguiſe her Sex ſo artfully as to be raiſed, quite unſuſpected, to the See of *Rome*? The Cuſtom that prevailed at this time amongſt the Weſtern, eſpecially the *Italian*, Clergy, of ſhaving their Beards, contributed as much as the Condition of an Eunuch towards carrying on the Impoſition with Succeſs; nay, to that Cuſtom *Calcondilas* aſcribes the

[k] Niceph. Caliſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. xvi. c. 5. [l] Leo. IX. ep. 1.

raiſing

raiſing of a Woman to the Apoſtolic See [m]. And *Pierius Valerianus*, in an Harangue he addreſſed to Cardinal *Hippolitus de Medicis*, tells that Cardinal, that had the Weſtern Clergy never adopted the effeminate Cuſtom of ſhaving their Beards, the World would never have ſeen a Woman ſitting in the Chair of St. *Peter* [n].

That a Woman therefore ſhould have been raiſed, in the Diſguiſe of a Man, to the See of St. *Peter*, is a thing neither abſolutely impoſſible in itſelf, nor incredible: But yet, that ſuch a thing never did happen, that no Woman ever did ſit in that See, and conſequently that the famous Pope *Joan* is a mere Chimera or Fantome, has been made ſo evidently appear by ſeveral Proteſtant as well as *Roman* Catholic Writers, that I can ſcarce help charging thoſe with want of Candor, who ſtill maintain ſo ſtale and ſo groundleſs a Fable. In Matters of Fact, we are to ſtand to the Teſtimony of the contemporary Writers, if worthy of Credit, or of thoſe who lived the neareſt to the Times of which they write; and admit or reject what we read in the later Writers, as it is conſiſtent or inconſiſtent with what we read in them. Now, what we read in *Anaſtaſius*, who lived at this very time in *Rome*, concerning the Death of Pope *Leo* IV. and the Election of his Succeſſor, at which he was probably preſent, is abſolutely inconſiſtent with what we read in the Writers who flouriſhed ſome Ages after his Time; *viz.* that *Leo* IV. was ſucceeded by a Woman; for the Bibliothecarian tells us in expreſs Terms, that the People of *Rome*, the Clergy and Nobility, meeting *as ſoon as* Leo died *(mox)*, to chuſe him a Succeſſor, all agreed to a Man to confer that Honour on *Benedict*; that they went thereupon *immediately* in a Body to the Church of St. *Calliſtus*; and, having found him there at his Prayers, they carried him from thence to the *Lateran* Palace, placed him on the Pontifical Throne, and ſigning the Decree of his Election, ſent it to the Emperors *Lotharius* and *Lewis* [o]. *Leo* therefore was, according to *Anaſtaſius* an Eye-witneſs of what he writes, immediately ſucceeded by *Benedict*, and not by a Woman.

Pope Joan *never exiſted.*

The Account of *Anaſtaſius* is intirely agreeable to what we read in *Hincmar*, at this very time Archbiſhop of *Reims*, who writes thus in One of his Letters to Pope *Nicholas*, the immediate Succeſſor of *Benedict* III. *I diſpatched*, ſays he, *Envoys, with Letters to*

The female Pope unknown to the contemporary Latin *Writers.*

[m] Calcond. Hiſt. Turc. l. vi. p. 200. [n] Johan. Pier. Valer. pro Sacerdot. barb. ad Card. Med. [o] Anaſt. in Benedict. III.

Rome,

Rome, *who, hearing on the Road that* Leo *was dead, purſued, nevertheleſs, their Journey, and arriving at* Rome, *obtained of* Benedict *the Privilege which they were ſent to demand* [p]. While the Envoys were on the Road, *Leo* died, and *Benedict* was choſen, as appears from the Words of the Letter: We cannot therefore ſuppoſe any other to have been choſen between them, and to have held the See Two Years and Five Months, as the female Pope is ſaid to have done, without ſuppoſing the Envoys to have been Two Years and Five Months on the Road from *Reims* to *Rome*; which no Man can ſuppoſe, or believe. The other contemporary Writers were all as little acquainted with the female Pope as *Anaſtaſius* and *Hincmar*. Thus Pope *Nicholas*, the immediate Succeſſor of *Benedict*, in a Letter he wrote to the Biſhops of the Council of *Soiſſons*, Eleven Years after the Death of *Leo*, ſpeaks of *Benedict* as the immediate Succeſſor of that Pope: Leo, *Pontiff of the Apoſtolic See*, ſays he, *being dead, and* Benedict, *of holy Memory, choſen to ſucceed him, under him the Reverend* Hincmar *renews the War* [q]. In like manner *Ado*, Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, who flouriſhed at this very time, and died in 875, enumerating, in his Chronicle, the Popes from *Gregory* IV. to *Nicholas* I. places *Benedict* III. immediately after *Leo* IV. *The* Roman *Pontiff* Gregory *dies*, ſays *Ado, and in his room* Sergius *is ordained*; *to* Sergius *ſucceeds* Leo; *and to* Leo *is ſubſtituted* Benedict. The *Bertinian* Annaliſt, who flouriſhed at the ſame time, and brought his Annals down to the Year 882, writes thus at the Year 855, Leo, *Biſhop of the Apoſtolic See, dies*; *to him ſucceeds* Benedict; *to* Benedict Nicholas; *to* Nicholas Hadrian; *and to* Hadrian John [r],

And likewiſe to the Greek *Writers.*

The *Greek* Writers of the Ninth Century knew, it ſeems, as little of a female Pope as the *Latin*; for the famous *Photius* of *Conſtantinople*, and *Metrophanes* of *Smyrna*, not only take no kind of Notice of her, tho' both ſworn Enemies of the See of *Rome*, but expreſly exclude her, placing *Benedict* immediately after *Leo*, *Nicholas* after *Benedict*, *Hadrian* after *Nicholas*, and *John* after *Hadrian* [s]; and both Writers were contemporary with theſe Popes. The Writers I have quoted all lived, and wrote, at the very time when the female Pope is ſuppoſed to have been choſen, to have governed the

[p] Hincmar. ep. 26. tom. ii. Edit. Sirmond. p. 298. [q] Nich. ep. 46. [r] Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 855. [s] Phot. de Proceſſ. Spirit. Sanct. l. i. Metrophan. de Spirit. Sanct. divinitat.

Church

Church Two Years and Five Months, and to have at laſt been diſcovered in the manner we have ſeen; and yet not One of them takes the leaſt Notice of ſuch an extraordinary Event; not One of them mentions the ſhe Pope, but, on the contrary, all abſolutely exclude her, by making *Benedict* the immediate Succeſſor of *Leo*, and thus leaving no room for any other. Should therefore the Writers, who lived and wrote ever ſo little a Time after them, all to a Man relate ſuch an Adventure; ſhould they all perfectly agree in every Circumſtance attending it; their Evidence, nevertheleſs, ought not to be regarded as contradicting the Teſtimony of thoſe, whom we muſt ſuppoſe to have been better informed than they. But even the earlieſt Writers, upon whom the Account of a female Pope has been fathered, lived Two hundred Years after the Writers I have quoted; and ſcarce Two of them agree in the Account they give of her: And are we to believe, upon the Teſtimony of ſuch Writers, ſo remarkable an Event, tho' utterly unknown to all the contemporary Hiſtorians, nay, and inconſiſtent with what they have writ? Who could inform them of what paſſed in former Times, if the Writers did not inform them who lived in thoſe Times, or, at leaſt, nearer them than they?

An Account of the female Pope foiſted into ſome Copies of Anaſtaſius.

I am well appriſed, that, in ſome Manuſcript Copies of *Anaſtaſius*, an Account is given of a Woman Pope between *Leo* IV. and *Benedict* III. But as that Account is not to be found in the more ancient and authentic Copies of that Writer, if we may depend upon the Teſtimony of many learned Critics, Proteſtants as well as *Roman* Catholics, who have narrowly examined them [t], and it evidently contradicts the Account given by *Anaſtaſius* himſelf, and all the contemporary Writers, of the Election of *Benedict*, it is now, almoſt univerſally, looked upon as ſuppoſititious, as not given by *Anaſtaſius*, but inſerted, in later Times, into his Work by ſome injudicious and ignorant Tranſcriber, unwilling that ſuch an extraordinary Adventure, whether true or falſe, ſhould be wanting in his Copy. And truly that the Relation of this Tale was added by ſome other Hand to the Manuſcript Copies of *Anaſtaſius*, appears, I think, undeniable from the Manner in which the Relater expreſſes himſelf; *viz. it is ſaid that* Leo *was ſucceeded by a Woman:* For can any Man think

[t] Onuph. in addit. ad Platin. Blondel. Eclairciſſ. de la queſt. Si une femme, &c. Serrau. ep. 138. 146. Florimond de Remond. l. i. Antipapeſſe. Bale, art. Papeſſe, Note A.

that *Anaſtaſius*, who lived in *Rome* at that very time, who was an Eye-witneſs of what he wrote, and conſequently muſt have known for certain whether or no *Leo* was ſucceeded by a Woman, would have ſpoken of ſuch an extraordinary Event as a Fact that was *ſaid* to have happened, and not poſitively aſſerted, or poſitively denied it? Would any Hiſtorian, who in our Days ſhould write the Hiſtory of *Great Britain*, expreſs himſelf thus in ſpeaking of the Succeſſion of our Kings, *it is ſaid that* George I. *was ſucceeded by* George II.? This is One of the many Reaſons that inclined Mr. *Sarrau*, a zealous Proteſtant, and very able Writer, to conclude the above-mentioned Paſſage to have been added to the Manuſcript Copies of *Anaſtaſius* by one *who made an ill Uſe of his leiſure Hours*[u]; and this Reaſon the penetrating Mr. *Bayle* looked upon as a Demonſtration[w]. As for the Writers who flouriſhed in the ſame Century with *Anaſtaſius*, or in the following, it is not even pretended, that by any of them mention has been made of a female Pope; and therefore it matters little whether ſhe was firſt mentioned by *Marianus Scotus* in the End of the Eleventh Century, by *Sigebert* in the Beginning of the Twelfth, or by *Martinus Polonus* about the Middle of the Thirteenth; for the ſame Queſtion or Difficulty ſtill occurs, how came they to know what was utterly unknown to, or, at leaſt, paſſed over in Silence by, all who wrote before them?

By whom this Fable invented.

Who was the Inventor of this Fable, or by whom it was firſt related, is uncertain, it being by ſome charged upon *Marianus Scotus*, by ſome upon *Sigebert*, and by ſome upon *Vincentius Bellovacenſis*, or *Martinus Polonus*; while others pretend no mention to be made of the female Pope in the more ancient Manuſcript Copies of theſe Writers. But whoever was the Firſt Author of that Tale, it was, in Proceſs of Time, embelliſhed with many Circumſtances or curious Anecdotes unknown to thoſe who had firſt related it. In the Copies of *Marianus*, where mention is made of Pope *Joan*, no more is ſaid than that Joan, *a Woman, ſucceeded Pope* Leo IV. *during the Space of Two Years, Five Months, and Four Days*; but by thoſe who wrote after him we are told, as has been obſerved above, that the ſhe Pope was delivered of a Son in the public Street between the Church of St. *Clement* and the *Coliſeo*, or the Amphitheatre of *Titus*; that thenceforth the ſolemn Proceſſions have ever avoided the ſame Street;

[u] Sarravius, epiſt. 138. [w] Bayle Dict. Hiſtor. Papeſſe Jeanne.

that

that a Marble Statue was erected there in Deteſtation of ſuch an Event [x]; and that the *perforated Chair* was, from that time forward, made uſe of, to prevent the like Miſtake in the Election of the Pope [y]. But it does not appear, that the ſolemn Proceſſions ever paſſed through that Street; and, if they did, it was for other Reaſons, perhaps becauſe it was too narrow, that they afterwards took another Way. We cannot doubt that a Statue was to be ſeen in the Place where *Joan* was ſuppoſed to have been delivered of her Son, being aſſured by *Theodoric* of *Neim*, who paſſed the beſt Part of his Time at *Rome*, and was Secretary to Two Popes, that it was ſtill extant at the Time he wrote, that is, in 1413. But from thence we cannot conclude the Story to be true, but only that it was believed when the Statue was erected (D); as it was believed when the Statue of the ſhe Pope was placed, in the Cathedral of *Siena*, among thoſe of the Popes from St. *Peter* to *Pius* II. and placed between *Leo* IV. and *Benedict* III. with this Inſcription, *Joan* VIII. *an* Engliſh *Woman*. In *Baronius*'s Time this Statue was ſtill to be ſeen in the Cathedral of *Siena*; but Cardinal *Tarugi*, Archbiſhop of that City, applying to the Grand Duke, at his Requeſt the Features were altered by his Royal Highneſs, and the Statue of Pope *Joan* was metamorphoſed into that of Pope *Zachary*; but, as all knew that it had once repreſented the female Pope, it was broken, or removed, before the Year 1677, to aboliſh her very Memory [z] (E). As for the perforated Chair, Three Chairs

Her Statue in the Cathedral at Siena.

[x] Theodoric. Niem. de Priv. et Juribus Imp. Eccleſ. [y] Guillem. Brevin. de ſept. Romæ [z] Pagi, ad ann. 853. n. 17.

(D) It was more probably an ancient Statue; but believed by *Theodoric* of *Niem* to be Pope *Joan*'s, as it repreſented a Woman and her Child; and the Fable of the ſhe Pope univerſally obtained in his Time.

(E) What Care was taken at *Siena* to aboliſh all Remembrance of Pope *Joan*, as well as of the Statue with which ſhe was honoured in the ſtately Cathedral of that City, will appear from what happened to the very learned Father *Antonius Pagi*, and is related by himſelf: As he paſſed through *Siena* in 1677, and was very deſirous of being informed upon the Spot of every Particular relating to the famous Statue of the ſhe Pope in that Cathedral, he applied for Information to the Religious of his own Order, the Minorites; but they, to his great Surprize, pretended all to a Man never to have heard of ſuch a Statue. Hereupon *Pagi*, finding they avoided, he knew not why, entering upon the Subject, repaired to the Cathedral, and addreſſing moſt of the Prebendaries as they came out of the Choir after Veſpers, told them, that he wanted to ſee the Statue of Pope *Joan*, and begged they would ſhew it him, as it might afford him ſome new Light to confute the Fable, and confound the Heretics; but they all walked off, without ſo much as deigning to return him an Anſwer. When they were all gone, a Man, advanced in Years, accoſting him, told him, that he had long belonged to that Cathedral; and that, as it was not to gratify his Curioſity, but, as he underſtood,

The perforated Chair.

Chairs were formerly made uſe of in the Inſtallation of the Pope: The Firſt was of white Marble, ſtood in the Porch of the *Lateran* Church, and was not perforated; the other Two were of Porphyry, were both perforated, and they ſtood before the Chapel of St. *Silveſter* in the ſame Church. In the Firſt of theſe Chairs the new Pope was placed, after he had been acknowleged by the Cardinals; and while he roſe from it, the 7th and 8th Verſes of the 113th Pſalm were ſung in *Latin*, *Suſcitat de pulvere egenum, et de ſtercore erigit pauperem, &c.* and from thence that Chair took the Name of *Stercoraria.* From that the Pope was attended by the Cardinals to the Two other Chairs, was placed in both; and, while he ſat in the one, the Keys of the *Lateran* Church were delivered to him by the Prior of St. *Laurence*, and he returned them to him while he ſat in the other. The Reader will find this Ceremony deſcribed in Verſe by a Cardinal, in a Poem he wrote on the Coronation of *Boniface* VIII [a]. At what time, or by whom, the Uſe of theſe Chairs was firſt introduced, we know not. *Cencius*, who wrote in the Twelfth Century, is the Firſt who mentions them; but it is not certain that No-

[a] Cardin. Jacob. apud Bolland. tom. iv. Maii, p. 471.

for the Good of the Church, he wanted to be informed concerning the Statue of Pope *Joan*, he would give him what Information ſhould be thought neceſſary for ſo good a Purpoſe, provided he engaged never to diſcover the Perſon who had given it. With this Condition *Pagi* very readily complied; and thereupon the good old Man anſwered all his Queſtions to his full Satisfaction, ſhewed him the Place where the Statue had ſtood, told him when it was changed into that of *Zachary*, when it was removed; *viz.* in the Pontificate of *Alexander* VII. a Native of *Siena*, &c. (1). Thus *Pagi*; and I cannot help obſerving here, that the Promiſe of Secrecy inſiſted on by the old Man, the clowniſh Behaviour of the Dignitaries of the Church in One of the moſt polite Cities of all *Italy*, and the Shyneſs of the Friars, averſe to enter upon the Topic of the female Pope even among themſelves, and with a very learned Man of their own Order, who, they knew, would make a good Uſe of the Information they ſhould give him, plainly ſhew, that an Order had been iſſued, no doubt, by the Inquiſition, commanding all the Inhabitants of *Siena* to obſerve a ſtrict Silence with reſpect to Pope *Joan* and her Statue. And it is not at all to be doubted but the like Order has been lately iſſued by the ſame Tribunal in another City of *Italy*, injoining the Inhabitants to forbear all Mention of one, whom they cruelly tortured and racked to Death. In Compliance with that Order, they muſt all pretend never to have heard of ſuch a Man, as the Friars at *Siena* pretended never to have heard of the famous Statue, which had ſtood ſo many Years in that Cathedral, and had but a little Time before been removed. But an honeſt Man, I truſt, will one Day be found at *Macerata*, as well as at *Siena*, who will ſpeak the Truth, to the eternal Infamy of the Miniſters of that helliſh Court, ſtriving to conceal with lying *Certificates*, and lying *Atteſtations*, as remarkable an Inſtance of their Cruelty and Injuſtice as any that occurs in Hiſtory.

(1) Pagi, ad ann. 853. n. 17.

ricc

tice was taken by any Writer before the Fifteenth Century of the Uſe that was then ſaid to have been made of them; *viz.* to know whether the Perſon they had choſen was a Man or a Woman. The Chairs, eſpecially the Two perforated ones, are thought by learned Antiquaries to have been uſed by the *Romans* (for they are ancient) in their hot Baths; and they are ſaid to have been diſcovered in the Ruins of thoſe Baths. As the Placing of the new-choſen Pope in them confirmed the ignorant People in the Belief of the Fable of the ſhe Pope, it was thought adviſeable to aboliſh that Ceremony; and it was accordingly aboliſhed in the Sixteenth Century [b].

The Fable of the female Pope invented by the Roman *Catholics.*

The female Pope owes her Exiſtence and her Promotion to the *Roman* Catholics themſelves; for by them that Fable was invented, was publiſhed to the World by their Prieſts and Monks before the Reformation, and was credited, upon their Authority, even by thoſe who were moſt zealouſly attached to the holy See, and among the reſt by St. *Antoninus*, Archbiſhop of *Florence*; nor did they begin to confute it till Proteſtants reproached them with it, as reflecting great Diſhonour on the See of St. *Peter*. *Æneas Silvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius* II. in the Fifteenth Century, was the Firſt that queſtioned the Truth of the Fact, ſaying, *that the Story was not certain* [c]. After him *Aventinus*, who was a *Lutheran* in his Heart, abſolutely denied it, and many others undertook to confute it; but none, perhaps, with better Succeſs than the Two Proteſtant Writers *Sarau* and *Blondel*; who have alleged ſuch Reaſons againſt the Exiſtence of the ſhe Pope as are abſolutely unanſwerable: And indeed, had they not been convinced themſelves of the Falſity of the Fact, no Man can think, that Two ſuch zealous Proteſtants would have taken ſo much Pains to convince others.

Conjectures concerning the Origin of that Fable.

Various Conjectures have been offered by thoſe who have thought it worth their while to inquire into the Origin of this Fable: Some ſay, with *Baronius*, that *John* VIII. betrayed ſo much Cowardice in the Cauſe of *Photius*, as I ſhall have Occaſion to relate hereafter, that it was thought he ſhould rather be called a Woman than a Man. *Aventinus* will have the Fable to have taken its Riſe from the Election of Pope *John* IX. raiſed to the See by the Intereſt of *Theodora*, a noble and imperious Courtezan. *Onuphrius Panvinius* is of Opinion, that *Joan Rainiere*, another famous Courtezan, who governed *John* XII. as well as the State, with an uncontrouled Power, was

[b] Mabil. Muſæum Italic. part. i. p. 159. [c] Æn. Sil. ep. 130.

called in Raillery the *she Pope*. Many other Conjectures have been alleged concerning the Origin of a Fable, that was for so long a Time and so universally credited [d]; but, as they are only Conjectures, I shall not trouble the Reader with them, the Story of a female Pope being now generally, not to say universally, rejected by Men of Learning, whether Protestants or Papists, as an Event first mentioned by Writers who flourished Two hundred Years at least after the Fact in question, and absolutely irreconcilable with indisputable Facts related by cotemporary Historians.

LOTHARIUS *and* LEWIS II. *Emperors of the East.*

BENEDICT III.

MICHAEL *Emperor of the West.*

The Hundredth and Third BISHOP *of* Rome.

Benedict III. *chosen.* Year of Christ 855.

IN the room of *Leo*, the *Roman* People, the Clergy, and the Nobility, chose *immediately*, says *Anastasius* [e], and with one Consent, *Benedict*, the Third of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Peter*, and Presbyter of the Title of St. *Callistus*. He was at his Prayers in that Church when News was brought him of his Election; and thinking himself unequal to so great a Charge, he begged with many Tears they would leave him where they found him. But the People, paying no kind of Regard to his Tears and Entreaties, carried him in Triumph to the *Lateran* Church, and there placed him, with loud Acclamations, on the Pontifical Throne. At the same time the Decree of his Election was drawn up, was signed by the Clergy and the Nobility, and sent, in Compliance with the ancient Custom, to the Emperors *Lotharius* and *Lewis* [f]. But those who were charged with it, *viz.* *Nicholas* Bishop of *Anagni*, and *Mercurius*, *magister militiæ*, being gained over by *Arsenius* Bishop of *Eugubio*, as they passed through that City, promised to declare, upon their Return to *Rome*, for the Presbyter *Anastasius*, who had been deposed in a Council, and excommunicated by the preceding Pope [g]. The *Roman* Deputies, returning to *Rome*, were soon followed by those from the Two Emperors, sent to assist at the Ordination of the new Pope. But the latter being met at *Horta*,

The Imperial Envoys declare for Anastasius.

[d] See Blondel. Ecclaircissement. p. 85, &c. [e] Anast. in Benedict. III. [f] Idem ibid. [g] See above, p. 242.

about

about Forty Miles from *Rome*, by the Biſhops *Arſenius*, *Nicholas*, and Two others; *viz.* *Rodoald* of *Porto*, and *Agatho* of *Todi*, and Three Captains of the Militia, they were prevailed upon by them to abandon *Benedict*, and ſide with *Anaſtaſius*. Of this *Benedict* was no ſooner informed, than he diſpatched the Two Biſhops *Gregory* and *Maio*, with Letters to the Envoys. But they, paying no kind of Regard to the Pope or his Letters, or even to the Right of Nations, ordered, no doubt at the Inſtigation of *Anaſtaſius*, the Two venerable Prelates to be bound, and ſtrictly guarded. Hereupon *Benedict* ſent *Hadrian*, Secundicerius of the Apoſtolic See, and Duke *Gregory*, to meet the Envoys; who, in the mean time, ſent an Order to *Rome*, requiring, in the Name of the Emperors, the Clergy, the People, and the Senate, to meet them the next Day beyond *Ponte Molle*. They complied with the Order; and the Envoys, attended by them, entered the *Leonine* City, where *Anaſtaſius* pulled down, and either burnt or broke in Pieces the Images that *Leo* had ſet up there in the Church of St. *Peter*; among the reſt an Image of our Saviour, and another of the Virgin *Mary*; and effaced the Repreſentation of a Council, perhaps of the Council that depoſed him, which *Leo* had cauſed to be painted on the Gates of that Baſilic. From the *Leonine* City, *Anaſtaſius*, advancing through *Rome* to the *Lateran* Palace, and placing himſelf in the Pontifical Throne, ordered *Benedict* to be ſtripped of the Enſigns of his Dignity, to be cruelly beaten, and to be delivered up to the Two Preſbyters *John* and *Hadrian*, whom Pope *Leo* had depoſed for their Crimes. This occaſioned a general Grief and Conſternation among all Ranks of Men: The Clergy and the Biſhops, who were then in *Rome*, attended by the People, repaired to the *Æmilian* Church, to implore there the Protection of Heaven at ſo critical a Juncture; but they were ſoon interrupted by the Imperial Envoys, who, breaking into the Church, threatened them with preſent Death, if they did not acquieſce in the Election of *Anaſtaſius*. The Biſhops anſwered with great Firmneſs and Intrepidity, that they would rather ſuffer a thouſand Deaths than be any-ways acceſſory to the Conſecration of one depoſed and anathematized by a Council. The Envoys, finding they were not to be frightened into a Compliance, retired to a Room in the Baſilic; and having ordered the Biſhops of *Oſtia* and *Albano* to attend them there, they ſpared neither Threats nor Promiſes to gain them over to the Party of *Anaſtaſius*, and prevail

Year of Chriſt 855.

Benedict *is ſtripped of the Enſigns of his Dignity*, &c.

Year of Christ 855.

upon them to perform the Ceremony of his Conſecration. But the Two Prelates not only withſtood both their Threats and their Promiſes, but had Reſolution enough to reprimand the Envoys for thinking them capable of ſo enormous a Crime as that of conſecrating one, whom a Council had depoſed, and tempting them to it. The Envoys, now ſenſible they could not prevail, began to relent; and the Point being diſputed on both Sides with great Warmth, in a Conference they had with the Biſhops and the Clergy in the *Lateran* Palace, they yielded in the End; and, driving *Anaſtaſius* from the Palace, ordered *Benedict* to be ſet at Liberty, and he was, Three Days after, carried in Triumph to the Church of St. *Peter*, and there ordained in the Preſence of the Imperial Envoys, of the Biſhops, and of the *Roman* People and Nobility, and acknowleged by all, even by the moſt zealous Partizans of *Anaſtaſius*, for lawful Pope. Thus far the Bibliothecarian [g]: And, in his Account, one Thing occurs worthy of Notice; *viz.* that the *ancient Cuſtom* ſtill obtained of ſending the Decree of the Election of the new Pope to the Emperor, and not ordaining him till the Emperor confirmed it, and ſent Deputies to aſſiſt at his Ordination; for *Anaſtaſius* tells us, that it was *in Compliance with ſuch an ancient Cuſtom that the Clergy and Nobility of* Rome *ſigned the Decree of the Election of* Benedict, *and ſent it to the moſt invincible Emperors* Lotharius *and* Lewis. That Cuſtom, therefore, was not yet abrogated, as is ſuppoſed by *Baronius*, pretending that the Emperors *Lotharius* and *Lewis* yielded to *Leo*, the immediate Predeceſſor of *Benedict*, the Right they claimed of confirming the Election of the new Pope, or interfering any-ways in it.

The Biſhops refuſe to conſecrate Anaſtaſius.

He is abandoned by the Imperial Envoys, and Benedict *conſecrated.*

Æthelwulph *King of the* Weſt Saxons, *with his Son* Alfred, *at* Rome.

Soon after the Election of *Benedict*, *Æthelwulph*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, came to *Rome* with his Son *Alfred*, and continued there a whole Year; during which time, he made rich Offerings to St. *Peter*, whereof the Reader will find a long Catalogue in *Anaſtaſius*, and Preſents to the Clergy, the Nobility, and the People [h]. He is likewiſe ſaid to have rebuilt the *Engliſh* School at *Rome*, that had been conſumed long before by Fire [i], and to have granted Three hundred Mancuſes (F) a Year to the Biſhops of *Rome*, in Honour of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* [k]. As he paſſed through *France* on his Return

[g] Anaſt. in Benedict. III. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Polyd. Virg. l. v. p. 96. [k] Aſſer. annal. ad ann. 855.

(F) The *Saxon* Mancuſe is, according to the Author of the *Theſaurus Septentrionalis*, equal in Value to Three Half-Crowns of our Money.

to

to his own Kingdom, he married *Judith*, the Daughter of *Charles the Bald*, and brought her with him into *England*. In his Abſence, his eldeſt Son *Æthelbald* uſurped the Crown; but as the *Danes* had already committed dreadful Ravages in his Dominions, and threatened them with a new Invaſion, *Æthelwulph* choſe rather to compound with the Uſurper, than to kindle a War, at ſo critical a Juncture, in the Bowels of the Kingdom; and he contented himſelf accordingly with the Eaſtern Provinces, that is, with *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Surry*, and left his Son in the quiet Poſſeſſion of the reſt. *Æthelwulph* is greatly commended by the Monkiſh Writers for his Piety, that is, for his Prodigality in enriching the Church at the Expence of his Subjects; but he would have better deſerved the Commendations they beſtow on him, if, inſtead of undertaking ſo long a Journey to viſit the pretended Tombs of the Apoſtles, and ſtaying ſo long abroad, he had not ſtirred from home, where his Preſence was neceſſary to repulſe the *Danes*, now become a very troubleſome and formidable Enemy, but employed in the Defence of his People the Wealth he ſquandered away upon the Prieſts, the Saints, and holy Places at *Rome*.

Year of Chriſt 855.

The following Year *Michael*, Emperor of the Eaſt, hearing of the Election of *Benedict*, diſpatched to *Rome* one *Lazarus* a Monk, and skilful Painter, to congratulate, in his Name, the new Pope upon his Promotion. By this Monk the Emperor ſent many valuable Preſents to St. *Peter*, and among the reſt the Book of the Goſpels covered with pure Gold, and a Golden Chalice, both enriched with precious Stones of various Kinds [k].

Preſents ſent by the Emperor Michael *to the Pope.*

Year of Chriſt 856.

The ſame Year the Pope received a Letter from *Lupus* Abbot of *Ferrieres*, a Man greatly eſteemed in this Age, recommending to his Holineſs Two Monks of his Monaſtery, who had undertaken a Pilgrimage to the Tombs of the Apoſtles, and begging him to inſtruct them in the Practices and Cuſtoms of the *Roman* Church, and to ſend him by them, upon their Return, the following Books, the Commentaries of St. *Jerom* upon *Jeremiah*, from the Sixth Book to the End; *Cicero de Oratore*; the Twelve Books of *Quintilian*'s Inſtitutions; and the Commentary upon *Terence*; which Books, he ſays, he cannot procure in *France*, and will ſend back to his Holineſs as ſoon as tranſcribed [l].

Letter of Lupus, *Abbot of* Ferrieres, *to the Pope.*

[k] Anaſt. ibid. [l] Lupus, ep. 103.

The

Benedict *dies* Year of Christ 858.

The Pope died the 8th of *April* 858, having governed the *Roman* See Two Years, Six Months, and Ten Days. He was choſen, indeed, a few Days after the Death of *Leo*, which happened on the 17th of *July* 855; but he was not ordained till the 29th of *September* of the ſame Year.

His Letters.

Of this Pope Two Letters have reached our Times; the one to *Hincmar* of *Reims*, confirming the Acts of the Second Council of *Soiſſons*, which *Leo* his Predeceſſor had refuſed to confirm, as thoſe who were condemned by that Council had appealed to *Rome* [l]; the other is a Letter to the Biſhops of the Kingdom of *Charles the Bald*, wherein he enumerates the many Crimes that a Subdeacon, named *Hubert*, the Son of Count *Boſo*, was accuſed of; *viz.* of Murder, of Adultery, of Fornication, of ſpending his whole Time in the Company of Actreſſes, and other lewd Women, of ſeizing on the Goods of the Monaſtery of St. *Maurice*, in Defiance of the Privileges granted to that Monaſtery by the Apoſtolic See; of violently breaking into another Monaſtery, which no Woman had ever been allowed to ſet Foot in, and rioting there, for ſeveral Days together, with Proſtitutes, *&c.* The Pope requires the Subdeacon, by virtue of his Apoſtolic Authority, to appear at *Rome* within the Space of Thirty Days after the Receipt of his Letter, in order to plead his Cauſe in Perſon before the Apoſtolic See, on Pain of being excluded from the Company of the Faithful [m]. Two other Letters are aſcribed to this Pope; the one confirming the Privileges of the Abby of *Corbie*; and the other thoſe of the Abby of St. *Denis*: But ſome queſtion the Genuineneſs of theſe Letters. *Benedict* was buried in the *Vatican*, whither his Body, attended by the Biſhops, and all the Clergy, was carried by the Deacons, among whom was his immediate Succeſſor, on their Shoulders, and placed by them in the Grave, purſuant to an ancient Cuſtom which he had revived, ordering all Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, to aſſiſt at the Funerals, and pray for the Souls of their deceaſed Brethren. He enriched the Churches of *Rome* with many Preſents of great Value, which *Anaſtaſius* has taken care to enumerate, telling us that he was no leſs generous to the Poor, to the deſtitute Orphans and Widows, than he was to the Clergy and the Churches. He is ſaid to have been bleſſed with a Sweetneſs of Temper that endeared him to all;

[l] Benedict. III. ep. 1. tom. iii. Concil. Gal. [m] Benedict. ep. 2. ibid.

and

and he is commended on that account even by *Photius* of *Conſtantinople*, tho' a ſworn Enemy to the Apoſtolic See [n].

LEWIS II. *Emperor of the Weſt.* **NICHOLAS.** MICHAEL *and* BASILIUS, *Emperors of the Eaſt.*

The Hundred and Fourth BISHOP *of* Rome.

BENEDICT was ſucceeded by *Nicholas*, a Native of *Rome*, the Son of *Theodore*, and Deacon of the *Roman* Church. The Clergy, the Nobility, and the People, choſe him, with one Conſent, a few Days after the Deceaſe of his Predeceſſor, and carrying him, by Force, from the Baſilic of St. *Peter*, where he had concealed himſelf to avoid being choſen, to the *Lateran* Palace, placed him there on the Apoſtolic Throne. The Emperor *Lewis* had left *Rome* a little Time before the Death of *Benedict*; but he no ſooner heard of it, than he returned to that City, and there aſſiſted in Perſon at the Conſecration of the new Pope. That Ceremony was performed, according to Cuſtom, in the Baſilic of St. *Peter*, on the 24th of *April* 858, after the See had been vacant Fifteen Days; and from thence the Pope was carried back to the *Lateran* Church, and there crowned, amidſt the loud Acclamations of the *Roman* People [o]. The Ceremony of crowning the Pope was, it ſeems, firſt introduced at this time; no Notice, at leaſt, has been hitherto taken of it by *Anaſtaſius*, or any other ancient Writer. The Emperor, having entertained the Pope at Dinner the Third Day after his Election, retired from *Rome* to a Place in the Neighbourhood, called *Quintus*; and being informed while he ſtaid there, that the Pope, attended by the *Roman* Nobility, was coming to viſit him, he not only went out to meet him, but, diſmounting as he approached, took hold of his Bridle, and, forgetful of his Dignity, led his Horſe the Diſtance of a Bow-ſhot on Foot, and did ſo again at their parting [p]. The State that the Popes afterwards took upon them, was chiefly owing to theſe and ſuch-like Marks of extraordinary Reſpect ſhewn them by ſuperſtitious and bigotted Kings and Emperors; for, elated therewith, they began to look upon themſelves as Lords of the Univerſe, and upon the Princes of the Earth as their Vaſſals.

Nicholas *choſen.* Year of Chriſt 858.

The Firſt Pope that was crowned.

How honoured by the Emperor Lewis.

[n] Phot. de Proceſſ. Spirit. Sancti. [o] Anaſt. in Nichol. I. [p] Idem ibid.

The Church of Bremen *subjected to that of* Hamburgh. Year of Christ 859.

The First thing I find recorded of this Pope is his confirming the Union of the Churches of *Hamburgh* and *Bremen*. As *Hamburgh* had been made an Archiepiscopal See in the Time of *Gregory* IV. but had no Suffragans, *Lewis*, King of *Germany*, thought of subjecting to it the See of *Bremen*; and he did so accordingly, upon the Death of *Leuderic*, the Third Bishop of that City. This Change met at first with no Opposition, the Archiepiscopal See of *Cologne*, to which that of *Bremen* was Suffragan, being then vacant. But *Gunthier*, the new Archbishop, remonstrating against it as soon as he was chosen, the King, and the Bishops of his Kingdom assembled in Council at *Mentz* applied to him for his Approbation and Consent. *Gunthier* referred the whole Affair to the Pope; and his Holiness not only confirmed the Change of Jurisdiction, but appointed *Anscharius*, then Archbishop of *Hamburgh*, Legate of the Apostolic See to the *Swedes*, the *Danes*, the *Sclavi*, and the other Northern Nations [q].

The Empress Theodora *confined to a Monastery.*

The Deposition of *Ignatius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and Intrusion of *Photius* that happened in this or in the preceding Year, engaged, above all Things, the Attention of the new Pope, as the Disturbances that arose from thence, and divided the Eastern Bishops into Two opposite Parties, gave him an Opportunity of exerting the Power and Authority claimed by his Predecessors over that Patriarchal and rival See. *Ignatius*, originally called *Nicetas*, was the Third Son of the Emperor *Michael*, surnamed *Rhangabe*; but being obliged by *Leo* the *Armenian*, when he drove his Father from the Throne, to take the monastic Habit, he exchanged on that Occasion the Name of *Nicetas* for that of *Ignatius*, and lived retired in the Islands of *Hyatros* and *Terebinthus*, which he is said to have peopled with Monks, till the Year 846, when he was raised to the Patriarchal See by the Interest of *Theodora*, Guardian to her Son *Michael*, the present Emperor, and Sister to *Bardas* [r]. This Man *Ignatius* had frequently reprimanded, with the Liberty becoming a Person of his Character and Station, for divorcing his own Wife, and living publicly with his Brother's, and even refused him the Eucharist, as he came to receive it on the Day of the *Epiphany* with the other Officers of the Crown. This *Bardas* highly resented; but sensible that he could not wreak his Vengeance upon the Patriarch till *Theo-*

q Rembert. vit. Anschar. c. 30. 36. et Annal. Fuldens. ad ann. 857. r Nicetas. in vit. Santi Ignat. tom. viii. Concil. p. 1180, & seq.

dora,

dora, his great Friend and Protectreſs, was removed, he undertook, in the Firſt place, to eſtrange the Mind of the Emperor from her, painting her to him as a Woman of an unbounded Ambition and reſtleſs Temper; as one who ingroſſed the whole Power to herſelf, and ſeemed determined never to part with it: He therefore adviſed him to ſhake off at laſt the female Yoke, to take the Reins of the Government into his own Hands, and to cauſe his imperious Mother and his Siſters, who would lay hold of every Opportunity to diſturb him in the Exerciſe of his ſovereign Authority, to be ſhaved and veiled in a Monaſtery. The Emperor, jealous of his Power, and ſuſpecting no evil Deſign in *Bardas*, hearkened to his Advice; and ſending immediately for the Patriarch, ordered him to conſecrate on the Spot his Mother and his Siſters to a religious Life; it being his Will and Pleaſure that they ſhould ſpend the reſt of their Days in a Monaſtery. The Patriarch, ſurpriſed at ſuch a Propoſal, remonſtrated againſt it as repugnant to the Canons, forbidding any to be conſecrated to a religious Life againſt their Will, and abſolutely refuſed to perform the Ceremony. The Emperor, impatient to get rid of his Mother and his Siſters, was highly provoked at the Refuſal of the Patriarch; and *Bardas*, not to let ſlip ſo favourable an Opportunity of compaſſing his Ruin, took care to incenſe the Emperor ſtill more againſt him, pretending that he had encouraged one *Gebus* a Rebel, who, giving out that he was the Son of *Theodora* by another Husband, had gained by that means many Followers. The Charge was quite groundleſs; but the Emperor believing, or pretending to believe it, ordered the Patriarch to be forthwith driven from the Patriarchal Palace, and tranſported to the Iſland of *Terebinthus*, where he had lived before his Election. He had not been Three Days in the Place of his Exile, when the Emperor ſent firſt ſome of the leading Men among the Biſhops, and a few Days after ſome of the Patrician Order, and the chief Judges, to perſuade him to reſign in due Form the Patriarchal Dignity; but tho' they could neither by Threats nor by Promiſes prevail upon him to comply, they nevertheleſs declared him lawfully depoſed; and *Photius*, then a Layman, was choſen in his room [s].

Year of Chriſt 859.

Ignatius *of* Conſtantinople *driven from his See, and ſent into Exile.*

Photius *raiſed to the Patriarchal See in his room.*

Photius was deſcended of an illuſtrious Family; had diſcharged the firſt Employments of the Empire with uncommon Applauſe; was univerſally looked upon as a Man of extraordinary Abilities, as

[s] Nicetas ibid.

Year of Chriſt 859.

a conſummate Stateſman, as the beſt skilled of all his Contemporaries in Grammar, in Poetry, in Oratory, in Philoſophy, nay, and in Phyſic; and thought to rival the Ancients themſelves in every Branch of Literature. As his Ambition and Love of Glory knew no Bounds, he had likewiſe applied himſelf to the Study of Eccleſiaſtical Matters, aſpiring at, and not deſpairing of being One Day able to attain to the Patriarchal Dignity in the Imperial City. To that high Station he was raiſed by the Intereſt of *Bardas*; who now had none to ſhare with him the Power, and the Emperor's Favour, *Theodora* and her Daughters having been veiled by One of the Biſhops of the Court, and ſhut up in a Monaſtery. As *Photius* was a Layman at the Time of his Election, and the Canons required all Eccleſiaſtics to riſe by Degrees, he was the Firſt Day made a Monk, the Second Reader, the Third Subdeacon, the Fourth Deacon, the Fifth Presbyter, and the Sixth he was conſecrated Patriarch by *Gregory*, ſurnamed *Arbeſta*, Biſhop of *Syracuſe*, whom the Patriarch *Ignatius* had depoſed in a Council for his irregular Conduct [t] (K).

Ignatius *treated with great Cruelty.*

The Expulſion of *Ignatius*, and Intruſion of *Photius*, occaſioned great Diſturbances in the Eaſtern Churches, eſpecially in the Patriarchate of *Conſtantinople*, ſome of thoſe Biſhops acknowleging the one, and ſome the other. They who acknowleged *Photius* inſiſted upon a Promiſe from him in Writing, that he would not moleſt or perſecute the depoſed Patriarch; but, on the contrary, honour and reſpect him as his Father. But he was ſcarce warm in the Patriarchal

[t] Idem ibid.

(K) *Photius* thought he ſhould thus avoid the Imputation of being raiſed to the Epiſcopal Dignity, without paſſing through the inferior Orders of the Church, as was required by the Canons, eſpecially by the Tenth Canon of the Council of *Sardica*. And this is, perhaps, the Firſt Inſtance that occurs in Hiſtory of ſuch a Practice; for, in the preceding Ages, when a Layman was, in caſe of Neceſſity, or on account of his extraordinary Merit, preferred to the Epiſcopacy, he did not receive one Order one Day, and another the next, *&c.* but was ordained Biſhop at once. *Photius* really paſſed through all the inferior Degrees to the Epiſcopal Ordination; but nevertheleſs Pope *Nicholas* declared his Ordination uncanonical, as his paſſing thro' them in the manner he did, no-ways anſwered the End of the Canon, which was, that, in every Order, a Man ſhould give ſome Proof of his Faith and good Converſation. However, the Cuſtom introduced by *Photius*, and condemned by Pope *Nicholas* and for a long Time by his Succeſſors, now obtains in the Church of *Rome*; for tho' that Church, to avoid a Breach of the Canons, never confers all the Orders at once, nor on ſo many following Days, leſt ſhe ſhould be thought to have adopted a Practice brought into the Church by *Photius*, and ſo much inveighed againſt by One of the greateſt of her Biſhops; yet ſhe confers them on ſo many following *Sundays*, by as manifeſt a Breach of the Canons, as if ſhe conferred them all at once, or on ſo many following Days.

Chair,

Chair, when, unmindful of his Promiſe, he raiſed a moſt furious Perſecution againſt his Rival, and the Biſhops who adhered to him, as well as his other Friends, pretending they had conſpired againſt the State, but, in Truth, to oblige *Ignatius* by that means to reſign his Dignity. Under that Pretence, his Friends were ſeized, were cruelly beaten, and confined to the moſt inhoſpitable Places of the Empire. One of them, by Name *Baſilius*, who ſpoke with more Freedom than the reſt, had his Tongue cut out, and was otherwiſe uſed with the utmoſt Barbarity. *Ignatius* himſelf met with no better Treatment than his Friends: He was moſt inhumanly beaten, without any Regard to his Character, or his high Birth, was loaded with Irons like a common Malefactor, and thus carried from the Iſland of *Terebinthus*, where he lived in a moſt magnificent Monaſtery built by the Emperor his Father, to ſeveral abandoned Places, and laſtly to *Mitylene*, and there ſtrictly guarded [u]. Year of Chriſt 859.

In the mean time, ſuch of the Metropolitans, and other Biſhops, as were the moſt zealouſly attached to *Photius*, meeting in a Council at *Conſtantinople*, *Ignatius* was by them declared unworthy of the Patriarchal Dignity; and they accordingly excommunicated and depoſed him. This Council was held in the Church of the holy Apoſtles; and in that of *Irene* was held another at the ſame time by the Biſhops of the Party of *Ignatius*; and they, in their Turn, condemned *Photius* as an Intruder into the Patriarchal See [w]. *Photius*, finding the Biſhops thus divided, reſolved to apply to the Pope, and get his Election, by ſome means or other, approved by him. With this View, he perſuaded the Emperor to ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Rome*, and entreat his Holineſs to diſpatch Legates into the Eaſt, in order to reſtore there, jointly with him, the decayed Diſcipline, and utterly extirpate the Hereſy of the *Iconoclaſts*, that began to ſpring up anew. This Embaſſy, he knew, would be acceptable to the Pope; and he flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to prevail on the Legates to confirm his Election. *Photius* ſent at the ſame time Four Biſhops, in his own Name, to acquaint the Pope, that *Ignatius* had reſigned the Patriarchal Dignity on account of his Age and Infirmities; that, upon his Reſignation, he had retired to a Monaſtery in an Iſland, where the greateſt Reſpect was ſhewn him both by the Emperor and the People; that the Clergy and the Metropolitans had unanimouſly choſen him to fill the vacant See, and forced

Excommunicated and depoſed in a Council. Year of Chriſt 860.

Photius *applies to the Pope.*

[u] Idem ibid. [w] Epiſt. Metroph. apud Baron. ad ann. 870.

him,

Year of Christ 850.

him, jointly with the Emperor, to accept of a Charge, to which he knew himself to be altogether unequal [x]. "When I reflect," says he in his Letter, "on the Greatness of the Episcopal Dignity, on the "Weakness of Man, and my own in particular, and recollect, that to "me it had always been Matter of the greatest Astonishment that any "one, liable to the Infirmities of human Nature, should take upon "him so tremendous a Charge, I cannot express the Concern I am "under at my being obliged to take that very Charge upon myself. "But the Clergy, the Metropolitans, and the Emperor kind to all, and "cruel to me alone, have laid so heavy a Burden upon me, without "hearkening to my Entreaties, or being affected with my Tears."

The Pope received the Imperial Embassadors, of whom the Chief was *Arsa* the Protospatharius who brought many rich Presents for St. *Peter* [y], and likewise the *Aprocrisarii* or Legates of *Photius*, in the Church of St. *Mary ad Præsepe*, now St. *Mary the Greater*; and being informed by them of the Deposition of *Ignatius*, and Ordination of *Photius*, he resolved, with the Advice of a Council, which he assembled on that Occasion, to send Legates to *Constantinople*, in Compliance with the Request of the Emperor; and the Two Bishops, *Rodoald* of *Porto*, and *Zachary* of *Anagni*, were named for that Legation. Their Instructions were, to conform to the Decree of the Seventh Council in what they should determine or define concerning the Article of Images; but as the Pope had not heard from *Ignatius* himself, they were ordered only to procure the necessary Informations relating to his Affair, and to refer the final Decision to the Judgment of the Apostolic See.

The Pope's Letter to the Emperor.

The Pope wrote by the Legates both to the Emperor and to *Photius*. In his Letter to the Emperor, he complains of their having deposed *Ignatius* without consulting the Apostolic See, and appointed a Layman in his room, in Defiance of the Canons of the Church, and the Decrees of the *Roman* Pontiffs; declares that he cannot approve of the Ordination of *Photius*, till his Legates have informed him of every Particular concerning it; will have *Ignatius* to appear in Person before his Legates and the whole Council, that they may learn from himself the Reason why he has forsaken his Flock, and at the same time inquire, whether his Deposition has been in every respect agreeable to the Canons. When a true and faithful Report,

[x] Nicetas, ubi sup. Anast. in hist. Synod. 8. Metrophan. ubi sup. [y] Anast. in Nicol.

says

ſays the Pope, ſhall be made to us of theſe, and other Circumſtances attending his Depoſition, we ſhall thereupon determine what ſhall ſeem to us moſt conducive to the Peace and Tranquillity of your Church. In the next place, he recommends to the Emperor the Worſhip of Images as agreeable to Scripture; entreats him to reſtore the Patrimonies of the *Roman* See in *Sicily* and *Calabria*, which his Predeceſſors had ſeized, and with them the Authority and Juriſdiction which the preceding Popes had exerciſed, by the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* their Vicar, over *Old* and *New Epirus*, *Illyricum*, *Macedonia*, *Theſſaly*, *Achaia*, both *Dacias*, *Myſia*, *Dardania*, and *Prævalis*; begs he will allow the Biſhop of *Syracuſe* to be thenceforth ordained, according to ancient Cuſtom, by the *Roman* Pontiffs; and cloſes his Letter with a warm Recommendation of the Two Legates[z]. The Direction of the Letter was, Nicholas *Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his beloved Son* Michael, *glorious Emperor of the* Greeks. Year of Chriſt 860.

The Pope, in his Letter to *Photius*, owns his Belief to be altogether orthodox, for *Photius* had ſent him a Confeſſion of his Faith; but expreſſes no ſmall Concern at the Irregularity of his Ordination, in being raiſed from the Condition of a Layman to the Dignity of a Patriarch, by a manifeſt Breach of the Canons, and the Decrees of the holy *Roman* Pontiffs *Leo*, *Celeſtine*, and *Gelaſius*; and he therefore tells him, that he cannot approve of his Ordination, till the Legates he is upon the Point of ſending to *Conſtantinople*, have informed him of his Manners, of his Behaviour, and his Attachment to the Doctrine of the Church[a]. Theſe Letters are both dated the 25th of *September*, no doubt, of the preſent Year 860. I cannot help obſerving here, that in the Confeſſion of Faith, which *Photius* ſent to *Rome*, and the Pope received as *altogether orthodox*, it is ſaid, that the Sixth Council rejected or condemned Pope *Honorius*, and all who held and taught with him the impious Doctrine of One Will in Chriſt, and One Operation: A plain Proof that it was not yet thought heterodox by the Pope himſelf for a Man to believe him capable of erring, and even of teaching heretical Doctrines. *His Letter to* Photius.

With the Two above-mentioned Letters the Legates ſet out for *Conſtantinople*, not doubting but they ſhould meet with a favourable Reception from the Emperor, at whoſe Requeſt they were ſent. But *Michael* no ſooner underſtood that the Pope had not acknowleged

[z] Nicol. ep. 2. tom. iii Epiſt Roman. Pontif. [a] Ibid. ep. 3.

Photius,

The Pope's Legates ill-used. Year of Christ 861.

Photius, and that the Legates were to communicate with him only as a Layman, than he ordered them to be confined, and carefully kept from converſing, or even ſpeaking, with any but their own People, leſt the Friends of *Ignatius* ſhould inform them of the true State of Affairs, and they the Pope. When they had been thus cloſely confined, and ſtrictly guarded, for the Space of an Hundred Days, the Emperor ſent One to let them know, that he was determined, if they did not comply and acknowlege *Photius*, to baniſh them to the moſt abandoned and barren Places of the Empire, where Hunger would oblige them to feed upon their own Vermin [b]. The Legates, terrified with theſe Menaces, and at the ſame time tempted with the Promiſe of great Rewards, yielded in the End, acknowleged *Photius*, and engaged to exert all their Intereſt and Credit in his favour. Hereupon a Council was aſſembled, near as numerous, as the Emperor boaſted in One of his Letters to the Pope, as the great Council of *Nice* at which were preſent Three hundred and Eighteen Biſhops. This Council was held in the ſpacious Church of the holy Apoſtles at *Conſtantinople*, the Emperor aſſiſting at it in Perſon, with the Pope's Legates, and all the great Officers of the Crown. When they were all met, Meſſengers were ſent to ſummon *Ignatius*, who had been recalled from Exile, to appear, without Delay, before the great and holy Synod, and anſwer the ſeveral Charges brought againſt him. But *Ignatius* asking them whether he was to appear as a Biſhop, as a Presbyter, or as a Monk, they were at a loſs what Anſwer to return; and therefore telling him, that they ſhould let him know the next Day, they went back to thoſe who ſent them, and coming again, ſummoned him a Second time, in the Name of *Zachary* and *Rodoald*, the Pope's Legates, to appear before the Council in the Habit that he thought he could take in Conſcience. Attiring himſelf therefore as Patriarch, he advanced, thus attired, towards the Place where the Council ſat, attended by ſome Biſhops and Clerks, and a great Number of Monks and Laymen. But being met in his Way by a Patrician, whom the Emperor had ſent to threaten him with Death, if he preſumed to appear in any other Habit but that of a Monk, he quitted the Patriarchal Robes, and appeared before the Council only as a Monk. Upon his entering the Aſſembly, he was received by the Emperor with moſt opprobrious Language; but, taking no notice of it, he begged leave to ſpeak

Acknowlege Photius.

A Council aſſembled, and Ignatius *ſummoned to it.*

[b] Nicol. ep. 6.

to *Zachary* and *Rodoald*; and having obtained it, asked them, Who they were? and what they were come for? They anſwered, that they were the Legates of Pope *Nicholas*, who had ſent them to judge his Cauſe. He then deſired to know whether they had brought Letters from his Holineſs to him. The Legates anſwered they had not, becauſe they did not look upon him as Patriarch, but as one who had been depoſed by the Synod of his Province, and ſhould therefore proceed according to the Canons. *If ſo*, replied *Ignatius*, *begin with driving out the Adulterer: If you cannot do that, you cannot be Judges. He commands us*, the Legates anſwered, pointing to the Emperor, *to be Judges*. In the mean time, the Metropolitans who adhered to *Photius*, jointly with the Miniſters of State, left nothing unattempted to extort from *Ignatius* a Reſignation of his Dignity. But, as he withſtood both their Threats and their Promiſes, declaring with great Firmneſs and Intrepidity, that he would never yield to another the Church that had been committed to his Care, the Council was adjourned.

Year of Chriſt 861.

His Behaviour.

At their next Meeting, they ſent Two Meſſengers to *Ignatius*, the one a Deacon, the other a Layman, to let him know they were met again, and order him, in the Name of the great and œcumenical Council, to appear before them. With that Order he refuſed to comply, declaring, that he did not acknowlege thoſe for his Judges, meaning the Legates, who, inſtead of driving out the Intruder, lived in great Intimacy and Friendſhip with him, feaſted daily at his Table, and had not even been aſhamed to accept of his Preſents; that he therefore appealed to the Pope, and ſubmitted to his Judgment, being authorized therein by the Fourth Canon of the Council of *Sardica*. At the ſame time he told the Meſſengers, that they who ſent them, knew not the Laws of the Church; that, by thoſe Laws, an accuſed Biſhop ſhould be ſummoned by Two Biſhops to appear at a Synod, and not by a Deacon and a Layman. But, in Anſwer to that, they urged the poſitive Order they had received; and *Ignatius*, upon their threatening to drag him with them, if he did not go of his own Accord, thought it adviſeable to yield. He therefore appeared once more at that Aſſembly; but as he continued, in ſpite of all their Threats and Promiſes, unalterable in his Reſolution not to reſign, the Validity of his Ordination was called in queſtion; and no fewer than Seventy-two Witneſſes were produced to ſwear, that he was choſen by *Favour*, and conſequently that his

He appeals to the Pope.

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Election and Ordination were both uncanonical. They then ordered the Thirtieth Apostolic Canon to be read, where it is said, *If a Bishop, applying to worldly Princes, shall obtain a Church by their Favour, let him be deposed.* It is added in the Canon, *and let all be deposed who communicate with him*; but that Part they suppressed, as they had all communicated with *Ignatius*. He excepted against the Witnesses as evidently suborned, and attesting what he could prove to be false; and, as to the Apostolic Canon, he urged, that they, who had communicated with him, were, by that Canon, to be deposed as well as he; and that, if he was no Patriarch, they were no Bishops, since they had been all ordained by him. But his Deposition was resolved on; and the Sentence, declaring him unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, being read accordingly, he was first cloathed with, and then, in a formal Manner, stripped of the Patriarchal Robes by a Subdeacon, who had been degraded by him for his wicked Life, and was therefore chosen by *Photius* and the Council to perform the Ceremony [c]. His Deposition was approved by the greater Part of the Bishops who were present at the Council, and confirmed by the Legates. However, as several Metropolitans and other Bishops still adhered to him, and had only through Fear agreed to the Sentence of the Council, *Photius*, who knew it, apprehending he should not be allowed quietly to enjoy the usurped Dignity, till *Ignatius* had resigned it, caused him, as soon as the Council was dismissed, to be shut up in a painful Prison, to be loaded with Irons, and daily beaten with the utmost Barbarity, hoping that, to redeem himself from the Miseries he suffered, he would comply in the End, and resign. But, as he continued unalterable in his Resolution to suffer all the Torments his Enemies could inflict, and Death itself, rather than betray his Trust, he was one Day most inhumanly beaten by *Theodore*, One of his Keepers; who, taking hold of his Hand while he lay quite senseless on the Ground, formed a Cross with it on a blank Page, and carried the Page thus signed to *Photius*; who wrote upon it the following Words; *I* Ignatius, *of* Constantinople, *own myself to have been chosen against the Canons, and to have governed the Church as an Usurper and a Tyrant.* *Photius* now pretended to be satisfied, as if *Ignatius* had really owned himself unworthy of the Patriarchal Dignity; and he was thereupon set at Liberty, and allowed to retire to a Palace that had formerly belonged

He is deposed by the Council,

and treated with great Barbarity by Photius.

[c] Nicet. in vit. Ignat.

to

to his Mother; but he had not been long there, when he was informed, that it was agreed between *Photius* and the Emperor, that he ſhould be made publicly to own he had been unlawfully raiſed to the Epiſcopal Dignity; that he ſhould publicly read, in the Church of the Apoſtles, the Act of his Reſignation, nay, and even anathematize himſelf; and that afterwards his Eyes ſhould be put out, and his Right Hand cut off. He had ſcarce received this Intelligence, when his Houſe was ſurrounded by a numerous Body of the Imperial Guards ſent to apprehend him. But he, in the Diſguiſe of a Porter carrying Two Baskets, paſſed undiſcovered through the Midſt of them, and got ſafe to the Iſlands. *Photius*, tranſported with Rage at his Diſappointment, cauſed all the Monaſteries in *Conſtantinople* and the Neighbourhood to be narrowly ſearched; and Meſſengers were diſpatched into all Parts, with Orders to put *Ignatius* to Death where-ever they found him. But, by conſtantly flying from one Place to another, and every-where paſſing for a common Beggar, as he could ſupport himſelf by no other Means, he had the good Luck to eſcape the Fury of thoſe who ſought his Deſtruction, till Providence interpoſed in his favour; for frequent and dreadful Shocks of Earthquake happening at *Conſtantinople* in the Month of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year, the People, conſtruing them into a Puniſhment from Heaven for the barbarous Treatment of their innocent Patriarch, began loudly to complain of the Cruelty of his Perſecutors, as drawing down upon the whole City the Vengeance of Heaven; inſomuch that the Emperor, to appeaſe them, and prevent a general Inſurrection, was obliged to promiſe upon Oath, and cauſe it to be publicly proclaimed, that *Ignatius* might ſafely diſcover himſelf; that he might ſafely return to his Monaſtery; that he ſhould be allowed to live there quite undiſturbed; and that none of his Friends ſhould be any-ways moleſted, not even thoſe who had been aiding and aſſiſting to him in his Flight, or had concealed him. Hereupon *Ignatius* diſcovering himſelf, and appearing before *Bardas*, was allowed by him to return to his Monaſtery; and the Earthquake ceaſed, ſays *Nicetas*, after it had ſhaken the City in a moſt dreadful Manner for the Space of Forty Days [d].

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He makes his Eſcape.

Is allowed to return to his Monaſtery.

Ignatius had, before his Flight, cauſed an Appeal to the Pope to be drawn up by *Theognoſtus*, formerly Exarch, but at this time Monk, and Abbot of a Monaſtery in *Rome*. It was addreſſed, in the

His Appeal to the Pope.

[d] Idem ibid.

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Name of *Ignatius*, of Ten Metropolitans, of ſeveral Biſhops, and an infinite Number of Presbyters, *to the moſt holy and bleſſed Preſident and Patriarch of all Sees, Succeſſor to the Prince of the Apoſtles, and univerſal Pope.* Theſe, and ſuch-like Titles, flattered the Vanity and Ambition of the Popes; and they were freely given them by other Biſhops when they wanted their Aſſiſtance and Protection. *Ignatius*, in his Appeal, gives the Pope a minute Account of every thing that paſſed on Occaſion of his Expulſion, and the Intruſion of *Photius*; of the Proceedings of the Council that depoſed him; of the Prevarication and Corruption of the Apoſtolic Legates; and of the barbarous and inhuman Treatment he had met with; begs the Pope to undertake his Cauſe, as his Predeceſſor *Innocent* undertook that of *Chryſoſtom* [e], and, treading in the Footſteps of *Fabian*, *Julius*, *Innocent*, *Leo*, &c. to exert himſelf, as they had done, in the Defence of one who had ſuffered ſo much, and ſo unjuſtly [f].

The Emperor ſends the Acts of the Council that depoſed Ignatius *to the Pope.*

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With this Appeal, Requeſt, or Memorial, *Theognoſtus* ſet out for *Rome*, in the Diſguiſe of a Layman; but the Two Legates, *Rodoald* and *Zachary*, arriving there before him, informed the Pope, by Word of Mouth, that *Ignatius* had been depoſed, and the Election of *Photius* confirmed [g]. They took no kind of Notice of the Part they had acted in that Affair, nor of the Violence that was uſed. Two Days after arrived *Leo*, Secretary to the Emperor, and brought with him Two Volumes, which he delivered to the Pope, in the Name of the Emperor; the one containing the Acts of the Council concerning the Depoſition of *Ignatius*; the other the Acts of the ſame Council relating to the Worſhip of Images, which was defined anew by that Aſſembly [h]. The Emperor's Letter has not reached our Times; but it appears, from the Pope's Anſwer to it, to have been calculated to perſuade his Holineſs, that *Ignatius* had procured the Patriarchal Dign' by indirect and unlawful Means, and prevail upon him, on that Account, to agree to his Depoſition, and the Ordination of *Photius* in his room. The Subſtance of *Photius*'s Letter, which was of an extraordinary Length, but written with great Art, is as follows:

Photius's *Letter to the Pope.*

" Charity is the Firſt of all Virtues; it joins thoſe who are diſtant, " unites thoſe who are at Variance, baniſhes all Contention and Diſ-

[e] See Vol. I. p. 294. [f] Apud Baron. ad ann. 861. n. 28, & ſeq. [g] Nicol. ep. 10. [h] Nicol. ep. 7.

cord,

" cord, reconciles Enemies, and ſtrengthens the Bond of Friendſhip between Friends. Charity endures all Things; and it is Charity " that makes me patiently endure the ſevere Reproaches of your " Holineſs, and aſcribe them not to Paſſion, to Enmity, or to Ha- " tred, but to the Sincerity of your Friendſhip for me, and your " Zeal for the Honour of the Eccleſiaſtic Order. As I am fully con- " vinced of the Uprightneſs of your Intentions, your Holineſs will " forgive me, if I open my Mind to you with that Freedom which " Brothers uſe with each other, and Children with their Parents. I " ſhall ſpeak nothing but the Truth, and ſpeak it not to contradict " you, but only to defend myſelf. It behoved then one of your " eminent Virtue to have conſidered, that this heavy Burden was " forced upon me, and, upon that Conſideration, to have pitied, " and not reproved me, to have condoled, and not found Fault " with me. God, from whom nothing is concealed, knows what " Violence has been offered me. I would have made my Eſcape, " but was detained againſt my Will, was impriſoned, and guarded " like a common Malefactor, and in the End elected, in ſpite of my " Remonſtrances, of my Sighs and my Tears. Theſe Things are " publicly known, as they have not been tranſacted in a Corner of " the Earth: Should not I therefore rather be comforted than up- " braided? I have forfeited the undiſturbed Peace and Tranquillity " I enjoyed in the Company of my Friends, to whom I was dearer " than their own Relations. To no Man have I ever given juſt " Cauſe of Complaint; on the contrary, I have made it my Study " to oblige all Men; and they never will, I hope, have Reaſon to " repent of the Commendations they have on that Account be- " ſtowed upon me. To my Houſe reſorted daily Men verſed in all " the Branches of Literature; and with them I paſſed my Time in " the Study of the Sciences human and divine. I frequently went " to Court, and they attended me thither, grudged the Time I ſpent " there, and accompanied me back to my Houſe, where we reſumed " our Studies. Who can bear the Loſs of ſuch a Life? What a " Flood of Tears has it coſt me? I knew, tho' I had not experienced " it, what Cares and Anxieties attend the Situation in which I have " been placed: I was no Stranger to the Obſtinacy and Perverſeneſs " of the Multitude, to their ſeditious, fickle, and reſtleſs Temper. " If you refuſe them what they ask, they murmur; if you grant it, " they inſult you, as if you durſt not refuſe it. All think themſelves " quali-

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" qualified to govern, and dictate to their Superiors; but what will
" become of the Veſſel that has no other Pilot but the Multitude;
" of the Army that has no other Commander? The Veſſel will ine-
" vitably be loſt, and the Army utterly deſtroyed. They who go-
" vern, muſt accommodate themſelves to the Tempers and the Paſ-
" ſions of thoſe whom they govern; they muſt pretend to be chear-
" ful when they are ſad, and to be ſad when they are chearful; muſt
" ſeem to be angry when free from all Anger, and thus live under a
" perpetual Reſtraint: But, in private Life, and among Friends, a
" Man may appear to be what he really is. I muſt, in my preſent Si-
" tuation, chide my Friends, ſlight my Relations agreeably to the
" Command, ſhew myſelf reſerved with Offenders, and thus incur
" Hatred on all Sides. This I foreſaw, and therefore ſtrove, but ſtrove
" in vain, to avoid ſo troubleſome a Charge. If what I ſay is be-
" lieved, they injure me who believe it and do not pity me; if it is
" not believed, they injure me who do not believe me when I ſpeak
" Truth. You will ſay no Violence ought to have been offered;
" and in that indeed we agree: But they are to blame who offered
" it, and not I to whom it was offered. But it is, you ſay, a Breach
" of the Canons to raiſe a Layman to the Epiſcopal Dignity. Be it
" ſo; they are guilty of that Breach who forced the Epiſcopal Dig-
" nity upon me, and not I upon whom it was forced. But to thoſe
" Canons we are here all intire Strangers, as they have never obtained
" in the Church of *Conſtantinople*. However that be, I am as wil-
" ling to reſign as I was unwilling to accept ſo toilſome a Charge.
" It is not at all commendable, I own, to commit the Government
" of the Church to Laymen, nor do I by any means approve of ſuch
" a Practice, and am therefore ſtill in Suſpence; nor ſhall I give an
" intire Conſent to my Promotion till the Return of the Apocriſarii
" I have ſent to your Holineſs."

Photius employs the remaining Part of his very long Letter to ſhew, that the Canon, forbidding Laymen to be ordained Biſhops, had never been received by the Church of *Conſtantinople*, nay, that ſuch a Canon never had been heard of there; alleges ſeveral Inſtances to prove it; *viz.* of *Nectarius*; of his Great-uncle *Taraſius*; of *Gregory* the Father of the Divine; of *Thalaſſius* of *Cæſarea*, &c. who were all raiſed to the Epiſcopal Throne while they ſtill were Laymen, and cannot be ſuppoſed to have been guilty, in conſenting thereunto, of the Breach of any Canons which they were ac-

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quainted with; obſerves, that the Canon in queſtion has been diſpenſed with even by the *Latins*; that *Ambroſe* was preferred to the See of *Milan* while yet a Layman; nay, that *Ambroſe*, and *Nectarius* whoſe Ordination was confirmed by a General Council, were not only Laymen, but Catechumens, when raiſed to the Epiſcopacy (F); takes notice of ſeveral Laws or Canons that are obſerved by ſome, but have never been ſo much as heard of by others; and among them he reckons the Canon forbidding the Ordination of Laymen received at *Rome*, but utterly unknown at *Conſtantinople*; and adds, that thoſe Laws alone are univerſally binding that are univerſally received; and that, inſtead of blaming thoſe who are raiſed from the State of Laymen to the Epiſcopal Dignity, we ought to honour and commend them for leading ſuch Lives as rendered them more worthy of that Dignity than any of the Prieſthood. However, that for the future no room might be left for Complaints of this Nature, he tells the Pope, that, in the Council lately held in the Imperial City, he had conſented to the iſſuing of a Canon, forbidding any Monk or Layman to be thenceforth ordained Biſhop, without paſſing through all the inferior Degrees; wiſhes that ſuch a Law had always obtained in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, ſince it would have delivered him from the many Cares and Difficulties that attend his preſent Situation, in which it is, he ſays, incumbent upon him to inſtruct the Ignorant, to confirm the Wavering, to animate the Slothful, to inſpire the Avaricious with the Contempt of Riches, the Proud with mean Thoughts of themſelves, the Lewd with the Love of Purity, to check the Impiety of thoſe who inſult Chriſt in his Images, who confound or deny his Natures, or introduce a new one, who curſe the Fourth Council, *&c.* As the Legates had applied to him for the Reſtoration of the Juriſdiction formerly enjoyed by the *Roman* See over *Epirus*, *Illyricum*, &c. he tells the Pope, that he would, with great Joy, reſtore thoſe Churches to their ancient Mother, were it left to him, ſince he ſhould be thereby eaſed of Part of his Burden; but that it is the Province of the Civil Power, and not

(F) *Nectarius* was not a Catechumen, but a Neophite, or newly baptized, when he was choſen to ſucceed *Gregory Nazienzen* in the See of *Conſtantinople*: For *Socrates* (1) and *Sozomen* (2) tell us, that, at the Time of his Election, he was ſtill *cloathed with his myſtical Garments*, that is, the white Garments, which the newly baptized uſed to wear.

(1) Socrat. l. v. c. 8. (2) Sozom. l. vii. c. 8.

his,

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his, to ſettle the Limits of Countries, and, with the Limits, the Juriſdiction over them. On this Occaſion, he does not forget to commend the Legates, as Men who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Virtue, their Prudence, their Experience, and by their whole Conduct have done Honour to him who ſent them. His Holineſs, he ſays, will learn of them many Things which he would otherwiſe have written, but has not thought it neceſſary, as they can inform him of every thing by Word of Mouth, and are more worthy of Credit than any-body elſe. As many of the perſecuted Patriarch's Friends had privately withdrawn from *Conſtantinople* to *Rome*, *Photius*, to prejudice the Pope againſt them, and prevent by that means his being informed of the true State of Affairs in the Eaſt, cloſes his Letter with entreating him not to receive any who ſhall come from thence without Letters of Recommendation, ſince many, under Colour of Piety and Religion, reſort to *Rome*, only to avoid the Penance or the Puniſhment that is due to their Crimes. The Direction of *Photius*'s Letter was, *To our moſt holy Brother and Fellow-Miniſter* Nicholas, *Pope of* Old Rome, Photius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, New Rome [i].

The Pope proteſts againſt the Conduct of his Legates.

By theſe Letters, and ſtill more by the Acts of the Council, the Pope underſtood, that *Ignatius* had been depoſed, and *Photius* ſubſtituted in his room; that his Legates had agreed to the Depoſition of the one, and the Intruſion of the other; that they had acknowleged *Photius*, and communicated with him as duly elected, and lawful Patriarch. In order therefore to ſhew to all the World, and in the moſt public Manner, his Diſapprobation of their Conduct, he immediately aſſembled the whole *Roman* Church, and ſolemnly declared, in the Preſence of *Leo* the Imperial Embaſſador, that his Legates had acted contrary to their Inſtructions; that they were not authorized to confirm the Depoſition of *Ignatius*, and the Election of *Photius*; and that he never had conſented, that he never would conſent, to the one or the other [k].

His Letter to the Emperor.

Upon the breaking up of the Council, the Pope wrote Two Letters in Anſwer to thoſe he had received from the Emperor and from *Photius*, and delivered them to *Leo*, who was upon the Point of returning to *Conſtantinople*. In his Letter to the Emperor, he proteſts againſt the Proceedings of his Legates, as well as of the Council at which they aſſiſted; aſcribes their Prevarication to the

[i] Baron. ad ann. 861. n. 9, & ſeq. [k] Nicul. ep. 7. 20. 18.

cruel

cruel Treatment they met with, and the Violence that was offered them; and wonders that the Emperor ſhould now charge *Ignatius* with having procured the Patriarchal Dignity by unlawful and indirect Means, when he has in his Hands Letters from him to his Predeceſſor *Leo*, and to himſelf, wherein he owns him to have been regularly elected, and lawfully ordained. As to his Council having been compoſed of as many Biſhops as was that of *Nice*, which the Emperor had boaſted of in his Letter, the Pope tells him, that, as they had all departed from the Regulations of that great and venerable Aſſembly, it matters little whether they equalled, or even exceeded it in Number; nay, that their Number only ſerved to add to their Guilt [l]. Year of Chriſt 862.

And to Photius.

The Pope, in his Letter to *Photius*, takes it for granted, that, by the Words, *Thou art* Peter, *&c.* the Primacy was conferred upon St. *Peter*, and upon all who ſhould ſucceed him in the See he had founded at *Rome*; and that it is therefore incumbent upon him, as the Succeſſor of that Apoſtle, as preſiding in the Church that is the Firſt and the Head of all Churches, to ſee that the Inſtitutions of the Fathers, and the Laws they have wiſely enacted, be punctually complied with by all other Churches, as well as his own. He then comes to the Canon forbidding any to be raiſed to the Epiſcopal Throne, who have not paſſed through the inferior Degrees of the Church [m]; reproaches *Photius* with a Breach of that Canon, in preſuming to take upon him the Epiſcopal Dignity while yet a Layman. And in Anſwer to the Inſtances he had alleged in favour of his Ordination, the Pope pretends *Nectarius* to have been raiſed to the Patriarchal See while he was yet a Layman, becauſe not one Eccleſiaſtic could be found at that time in the whole Body of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Clergy quite free from Hereſy; and adds, that in ſuch Caſes, Caſes of Neceſſity, the Canon may and ought to be diſpenſed with. As to the Promotion of *Taraſius*, he quotes the Words of his Predeceſſor *Hadrian*, diſapproving and cenſuring it as irregular; but nevertheleſs conniving at it, in Conſideration of *Taraſius*'s known Zeal for Images. The Election of *Ambroſe* he aſcribes to a Miracle, and tells the following Tale; *viz.* that the Bees ſwarmed in his Mouth while he was an Infant, and aſleep in his Cradle; that from the Cradle they flew up into the Air quite out of Sight; that from thence his Father prognoſticated the Child

[l] Nicol. ep. 5. [m] Concil. Sardic. Can. 10.

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would one Day attain to ſome very high Dignity; and that he was accordingly choſen, many Years afterwards, while yet a Catechumen, to ſucceed *Auxentius* the *Arian* Biſhop in the See of *Milan*, and miraculouſly choſen, an Infant, that happened to be preſent at the Election, crying out aloud, while the People were divided in their Suffrages, Ambroſe *is our Biſhop*, and the whole Multitude joining in the Cry as a Voice from Heaven (L). Thus, ſays the Pope, were *Nectarius*, *Taraſius*, and *Ambroſe*, preferred from the State of Laymen to the Epiſcopal Dignity. But what can you plead in Defence of your Promotion, you who have not only been unlawfully ordained, but have intruded yourſelf into the See of another ſtill living? *Photius* had ſaid in his Letter, that the Canon of the Council of *Sardica*, and the Decrees of the Popes, prohibiting the Ordination of Laymen, had never been received by the Church of *Conſtantinople*. In Anſwer to that, the Pope tells him in plain Terms, that he cannot believe him, as the Council was held in the Eaſt, and is received by the whole Church, as well as the Decrees of the Apoſtolic See, by whoſe Authority all Councils are confirmed. He then reproaches him with his unprecedented Severity, that of a Tyrant rather than a Father, in perſecuting *Ignatius*, and arbitrarily depoſing Biſhops and Archbiſhops, for no other Reaſon but becauſe they adhered to him; complains of the cruel Treatment his Legates had met with, and the Violence that was offered them; declares that he cannot, and never will, acknowlege any other for lawful Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, till he is ſatisfied that *Ignatius* has been lawfully depoſed; and cloſes his Letter with aſſuring *Photius*, that he is not influenced therein by Envy, Hatred, or any Ill-will he bears him, but only by Zeal for the Obſervance of the Canons, of the Traditions of the Fathers, and the Decrees of the Apoſtolic

(L) The Truth of it is: *Ambroſe* was Prætor at *Milan* when the Biſhop of the Place died; and the whole City being in an Uproar on account of the Diſagreement among the Inhabitants about the Election of a new Biſhop, *Ambroſe*, on whom it was incumbent, as Prætor, to appeaſe the Tumult, repairing to the Place where the Electors were met, exhorted them to Unity and Concord with ſo elegant and ſo affecting a Speech, that, laying aſide their Diſpute, they all cried out with one Voice, *We will have* Ambroſe *for our Biſhop*. This ſudden and unexpected Agreement the Emperor looked upon as miraculous; and therefore ordered him immediately to be baptized, for he was yet a Catechumen, and a few Days after to be ordained Biſhop. Thus *Paulinus* (3), *Ruffinus* (4), *Theodoret* (5), *Socrates* (6), and *Sozomen* (7).

(3) Paulin. vit. Ambroſ. (4) Ruffin. l. ii. c. 11. (5) Theod. l. iv. c. 6. (6) Socrat. l. iv. c. 30. (7) Sozom. l. vi. c. 24.

See.

See. The Pope, to ſhew that he looked upon *Photius* only as a Layman, gave him no other Title in the Direction of his Letter but that of a moſt prudent Man; *Nicolaus Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei prudentiſſimo viro Photio* [m]. Year of Chriſt 862.

At the ſame time, the Pope wrote a circulatory Letter to all the Faithful in the Eaſt, to acquaint them with the Depoſition of *Ignatius*, the Intruſion of *Photius*, and the Prevarication of his Legates conſenting thereunto, contrary to the Inſtructions he had given them; and addreſſing himſelf, in the Cloſe of his Letter, to the Three Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jeruſalem*, to the Metropolitans and other Biſhops in thoſe Parts, he declares, that it is the fixed Reſolution of the Apoſtolic See to reinſtate the venerable Patriarch *Ignatius* in his former Dignity, and drive out the moſt wicked *Photius*, who has uſurped it in Defiance of the Canons; and he enjoins and commands them, by virtue of his Apoſtolic Authority, to think as he does with reſpect to the Expulſion of *Photius*, and Reſtoration of *Ignatius*, and to cauſe his Letter to be publiſhed in their reſpective Dioceſes, that it may be known to all [n]. This Letter, as well as that to *Photius*, is dated the 18th of *March* of the preſent Year 862, and the Letter to the Emperor the 19th of the ſame Month. *His Letter to the Faithful in the Eaſt.*

About this Time, one *Euſtratius* arriving at *Conſtantinople* in the Habit of a Monk, went ſtrait to the Patriarchal Palace; and giving out that he came from *Rome*, publicly delivered Two Letters to *Photius*, the one from *Ignatius*, as he pretended, to the Pope, the other from the Pope to *Photius*. *Ignatius*, in the Letter that was ſuppoſed to have been written by him, gave the Pope a minute Account of the Perſecution he had ſuffered, and painted the Emperor in the blackeſt Colours. That Letter, *Euſtratius* ſaid, the Pope would not receive, and he had therefore brought it back. The Pope, in his Letter, was made to apologize for the Miſunderſtanding that had hitherto ſubſiſted between him and *Photius*, and to expreſs an earneſt Deſire not only of communicating with him, but eſtabliſhing a laſting Peace and Harmony between the Two Sees. Theſe Letters *Photius* immediately communicated to the Emperor, and to *Bardas*, in order to incenſe them anew againſt *Ignatius*, whom they had ſuffered, ever ſince the Time of the Earthquake, to live undiſturbed in a Monaſtery. He was accordingly taken into Cuſtody, and ſtrictly guarded; but *Euſtratius* pretending, upon his Examination, the *Contrivance of* Photius *to compaſs the Ruin of* Ignatius.

[m] Nicol. ep. 6. [n] Nicol. ep. 4.

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Letter for the Pope to have been delivered to him by one *Cyprian*, a Diſciple, as he ſaid, of *Ignatius*, and no ſuch Perſon being anywhere found after the moſt diligent Inquiries, the Impoſture was diſcovered, and *Euſtratius* moſt ſeverely whipt by an Order from *Bardas*, in ſpite of the moſt preſſing Inſtances of *Photius* in his favour [o]. Theſe Letters are both ſuppoſed to have been forged by *Photius* himſelf, hoping that the Emperor, provoked at the odious Picture that was drawn of him in the Letter to the Pope, would, in the Tranſport of his Wrath, order the ſuppoſed Writer to be put to Death without further Inquiry. But ſo wicked an Attempt raiſed in all Men, ſays *Nicetas*, the greateſt Indignation againſt *Photius*, and a general Compaſſion for *Ignatius*.

Lotharius, *King of* Lorraine, *charges his Wife* Theutberga *with Inceſt.*

An Affair of far greater Moment in the Weſt than the Quarrel between *Ignatius* and *Photius* about the See of *Conſtantinople* in the Eaſt, engaged at the ſame time the Attention of the Pope; and he exerted his Authority with no leſs Steadineſs in the one than he did in the other: *Lotharius* King of *Lorraine*, or *Auſtraſia* (M), Son of the late Emperor of that Name, and Brother to the preſent Emperor *Lewis*, had married *Theutberga*, Siſter to *Hubert* Duke of *Burgundy*; but wanting to divorce her, and to marry *Waldrada* one of his Miſtreſſes in her room, he accuſed her of Inceſt with her Brother. The Queen denied the Charge in an Aſſembly of Biſhops and all the chief Lords of the Kingdom, whom the King had called together to examine into that Affair; nay, and to convince them of her Innocence, underwent with their Conſent, if not by their Command, the Trial, or, as it is called, Ordeal, by hot Water. She was excuſed, in Conſideration of her Rank and her Sex, from undergoing that Trial in Perſon; but the Man, whom ſhe choſe to act in her room, received not the leaſt Hurt from the ſcalding Water; and the Queen was thereupon declared innocent by the whole Aſſembly, was by the King recalled to Court (for he had cauſed her to be ſhut up in a Monaſtery), and reſtored to all the Prerogatives of her Royal Dignity [p]. But, notwithſtanding ſo convincing a Proof of the Queen's Innocence, *Waldrada* ſtill engroſſed the King's Affection, and his

She is cleared, and recalled to Court;

[o] Nicet. in vit. Ignat. [p] Hincmar. de divort. Loth. & Theutb. Annal. Bertin.

(M) In the Diviſion of the *French* Empire made by the Emperor *Lotharius* amongſt his Children, the ancient Kingdom of *Auſtraſia* was allotted to *Lotharius* his Second Son, with the Addition of ſeveral Provinces; and it was thenceforth called in *Latin Lotharingia*, from its new King *Lotharius*; and from *Lotharingia* they derive the Name of *Lorraine*.

Paſſion for her allowed the unhappy *Theutberga* but a very ſhort Reſpite from her Troubles; for *Lotharius*, determined at all Events to part with her, in order to make room for *Waldrada*, appointed, ſoon after the above-mentioned Trial, ſome of the chief Biſhops of his Kingdom to meet at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and there arraigning the Queen anew of Inceſt, prevailed upon them to declare, that he could not in Conſcience live with her as his Wife, though not a ſingle Evidence was produced in Support of the Charge. This Point being gained, the King aſſembled the ſame Year, 860, another Council in the ſame Place; and having, with terrible Menaces, obliged the Queen to own herſelf, in their Preſence, guilty of the Crime ſhe was charged with, he applied to the Biſhops for Leave to marry again, ſince they had declared, that it was not lawful for him to cohabit with *Theutberga* as his Wife [q]. I do not find, that, in this Council, the Biſhops came to any Determination with reſpect to the King's Requeſt: They only ordained, that *Theutberga*, convicted by her own Confeſſion, ſhould do public Penance for her Crime. But ſhe eſcaped into *France* to her Brother *Hubert*, who had taken Refuge there, and was well received by the King, *Charles the Bald*, Uncle to *Lotharius* [r].

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but afterwards forced to own herſelf guilty.

Two Years after, that is, in 862, a Third Council was held at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, at which were preſent *Gonthier* Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, *Teutgaud* Archbiſhop of *Treves*, and the Biſhops of *Metz*, of *Verdun*, of *Tongres*, of *Utrecht*, and *Strasburgh*; and the time-ſerving Biſhops declared all to a Man, that the King might lawfully diſmiſs *Theutberga*, and marry another in her room; nay, and alleged ſeveral Paſſages out of the Fathers, and ſome Canons of the Church, to juſtify the Declaration they had made. We are told, that, in this Affair, the Archbiſhop of *Treves*, and the other Biſhops, were miſled and impoſed upon by the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, a Man of great Authority among them, whoſe Niece the King had promiſed to marry, provided he could get his Marriage with *Theutberga* declared null by a Council [s]. The Queen, on her Arrival in *France*, had written to the Pope, to acquaint him with the baſe Treatment ſhe had met with from the King, and the Biſhops of his Kingdom, and at the ſame time to implore his Protection. Of this the Biſhops were aware, and had therefore diſpatched *Teutgaud* of *Treves*, and *Hatto* of *Verdun*, to entreat the Pope, in the King's Name and their own,

Lotharius *allowed by a Council to put away* Theutberga, *and marry another.*

[q] Annal Bertin. [r] Ibidem. [s] Annal Metenſ.

not

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not to give ear to, nor ſuffer himſelf to be prejudiced by, the falſe Reports and Miſrepreſentations of their Enemies, ſince, in the Affair of *Theutberga*, they had proceeded upon her own Confeſſion, and had hitherto only ordered her to do public Penance for her Sin, which ſhe had avoided by quitting the Kingdom, and flying into *France*. The Pope had heard all they ſaid with great Attention; but returned them no other Anſwer than *that it was an Affair of great Importance, and ought to be thoroughly examined:* The King therefore, upon the breaking up of the laſt Council, ſent Two Counts to *Rome*, to acquaint the Pope with the Deciſion of that Aſſembly, to beg his Holineſs to confirm it, and aſſure him, that he ſhould wait for, and acquieſce in, the Judgment of the Apoſtolic See. To them the Pope returned the ſame Anſwer he had given to the Biſhops; adding, that he ſhould ſend Legates to inform themſelves of the Whole upon the Spot; and entreating the King, in the mean time, not to act over-haſtily in an Affair of ſuch Moment and Concern. From this Anſwer, and from the Pope's refuſing to confirm the Sentence of the Council, the King concluded, that his Holineſs was by no means inclined to conſent to his Marriage; and therefore, ſuffering his Paſſion to prevail over all other Regards, he married *Waldrada* publicly ſoon after the Return of the Two Counts from *Rome*, gave her the Title of Queen, and built her a ſtately Palace for her Habitation [t].

The King acquaints the Pope with the Deciſion of the Council,

and marries Waldrada.

Count Boſo *complains to the Pope of* Lotharius *for harbouring his Wife, who had eloped from him.*

In the mean time came to *Rome* Count *Boſo*, to complain to the Pope of *Lotharius*, for harbouring in his Dominions his Wife *Ingeltrude*, the Daughter of Count *Matfrid*, who, eloping from him with her Adulterer, had taken Refuge in the Kingdom of *Lorraine*, and there, to the great Diſgrace of her own Family and her Huſband's, led the Life of a common Proſtitute. The Count had, for the Space of Seven Years, frequently invited her to return to her Duty, with the Promiſe of an unlimited Pardon, and a kind Reception; had applied to *Lotharius*, entreating him not to countenance her in her Lewdneſs, but to drive her from his Dominions, and had omitted nothing in his Power to reclaim her. But finding that no Regard was paid by her to his Offers, nor by the King to his preſſing and repeated Inſtances, he reſolved in the end to apply to the Pope, and undertook for that Purpoſe a Journey to *Rome*. The Pope, having heard his Complaint, wrote, before the Count left *Rome*, to

Letters written by the Pope on that Occaſion.

[t] Nicol. ep. 38. Annal. Bertin.

the *French* Biſhops, to the Kings, and to *Lotharius* himſelf. In his Letter to the Biſhops, he required them to excommunicate *Ingeltrude*, if ſhe did not forthwith return to her Husband: In his Letter to the Kings, *viz. Charles* King of *France*, *Lewis* King of *Germany*, and *Charles* King of *Provence*, he exhorted them to interpoſe their good Offices in favour of *Boſo*, and prevail upon *Lotharius*, if by any means they could, to baniſh the *noble Proſtitute*, as the Pope ſtiles her, out of his Dominions, and not to admit her into theirs, that ſhe might thus be obliged to throw herſelf at her Husband's Feet, who was ready to receive and forgive her. In his Letter to *Lotharius*, he threatened him with the Cenſures of the Church, if he continued to countenance *Ingeltrude* in her Wickedneſs, or ſuffered her to remain any longer in his Kingdom [u]. Year of Chriſt 862.

Council appointed to meet at Metz, *to determine the Affair of* Lotharius.

Theſe Letters the Pope delivered to the Count himſelf; and taking the Affair of *Lotharius* into ſerious Conſideration upon his Departure, he thought it a Matter of too great Importance to be finally determined by the Biſhops of the Kingdom of *Lorraine* only. Of the ſame Opinion were *Hincmar* and *Ado*, the one Archbiſhop of *Reims*, the other of *Vienne*; and the Proceedings of the Three Councils held at *Aix-la-Chapelle* were cenſured by the other *Gallican* Biſhops, as repugnant to the Canons, and the Practice of the Church, and only calculated to gratify the Paſſion of their Sovereign, which it was their Duty to check and reſtrain. The Pope therefore, paying no kind of Regard to the Deciſions of thoſe Councils, reſolved to cauſe the Affair to be examined anew in an Aſſembly of all the Biſhops of *France* and *Germany*, and to ſend Legates, ſince both Parties had appealed to him as an Arbiter, to aſſiſt at that Aſſembly in his Name. The City of *Metz* was the Place appointed for the Meeting of the Council; and the Pope choſe *Rodoald* Biſhop of *Porto*, and *John* Biſhop of *Ficocla* in *Romania*, to preſide at it, with the Character of his Legates *a latere* (N). The Pope charged them with Letters to *Lotharius*, to *Lewis* King of *Germany*, to *Charles* King of *France*, his Uncles, to *Charles* King of *Provence*, his Brother, deſiring them to ſend Two Biſhops each to the Council,

The Pope ſends Legates to aſſiſt at it.

[u] Apud Baron. ad ann. 862. n. 38.

(N) As the Biſhop of *Porto* had lately betrayed his Truſt in the Eaſt, it is not a little ſurpriſing that the Pope ſhould have employed him on the preſent Occaſion, ſince he could no longer doubt of his Miſconduct there, though he had not yet received any authentic Proofs of it.

with

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Letters he wrote on that Occaſion.

with a circulatory Letter to all the Biſhops of *France* and *Germany*, and with one to the Biſhops who ſhould be preſent at the Council [u]. In his Letter to *Lotharius*, he recommends his Legates to him; tells him, that, in Compliance with his Deſire, he would have ſent them ſooner, had he not been diverted from it by Affairs of the utmoſt Importance; deſires that Two Biſhops from the Kingdom of *Lewis* King of *Germany*, Two from that of *Charles* King of *France*, and Two from the Kingdom of *Charles* King of *Provence*, may be allowed to aſſiſt at the Council; and wiſhes, that, upon the Return of his Legates, he may have Occaſion to rejoice, to return Thanks to the Almighty, and to ſend to the King his Apoſtolic Benediction. The Pope, in his Letter to the Biſhops, informs them, that *Theutberga*, whom *Lotharius* had put away to marry another in her room, had applied to him, deſiring that her Cauſe might be judged by the Apoſtolic See; and that he had thereupon ſent Two Legates to judge it, jointly with them, in a Council that was to meet at *Metz*; requires them to repair to the Council, in order to aſſiſt his Legates with their Advice; tells them, that, when the ſaid Legates were upon the Point of ſetting out from *Rome*, he had learned that *Lotharius* had diſmiſſed *Theutberga*, and married another Woman, without waiting for the Judgment of the Apoſtolic See, to which he had appealed, and promiſed to ſubmit; and he therefore deſires, that the King may be ſummoned to appear, and plead his Cauſe in Perſon before them and his Legates, on Pain of being cut off by the Apoſtolic See from the Communion of the Faithful [w]. In the Letter that was addreſſed to the Biſhops of the Council, and was to be read to them at their Firſt Meeting, the Pope exhorted them to judge juſtly, without Reſpect of Perſons; and required them to tranſmit to him the Acts of the Council, in order to their being confirmed by the Apoſtolic See, if in every Reſpect agreeable, or corrected, if any-way repugnant to the Laws of Juſtice and the Rules of the Church [x].

The Pope mediates a Reconciliation between Charles *of* France *and* Baldwin *Count of* Flanders.

At the ſame time the Pope wrote, and ſent by his Legates, Two Letters concerning a very different Affair; the one to *Charles the Bald*, the other to *Hermentrude* his Queen: *Judith*, their Daughter, had married *Æthelwulph* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, as has been related above [y]; and ſhe married, upon his Death, *Æthelbald*, the

[u] Nicol. ep. 17, 18, 19. [w] Nicol. ep. 22. [x] Nicol. ep. 23. [y] See above, p. 255.

deceaſed

deceaſed King's eldeſt Son. But he dying ſoon after that inceſtuous Marriage, ſhe returned to *France*, and, by her Father's Appointment, lived at *Senlis*, under the Direction of the Biſhop of the Place, to whoſe Care the King had recommended her, as ſhe was yet very young. During her Stay there, *Baldwin* Count of *Flanders*, a Man of great Diſtinction, but the King's Vaſſal, fell paſſionately in Love with her, and ſhe with him; but being both ſenſible that the King would never be brought to agree to their Marriage, *Baldwin*, with her Conſent, and the Conſent of her Brother *Lewis* Duke of *Maine*, carried her off; and they fled for Refuge to the Kingdom of *Lotharius*. *Charles*, highly provoked at ſuch an Inſult offered him by One of his own Subjects, had Recourſe to the Biſhops; and having aſſembled thoſe of his Kingdom, he prevailed upon them to thunder out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Judith* as well as *Baldwin*, agreeably to the Decree of Pope *Gregory the Great*, excommunicating *all who ſhould ſteal Widows, and all who ſhould communicate with them* [z]. *Baldwin*, ſtruck with Terror at this Sentence, undertook a Journey to *Rome*; and there, throwing himſelf at the Pope's Feet, owned his Crime, begged his Holineſs to abſolve him from the Excommunication, and to interpoſe his good Offices with the King in his behalf. The Pope did not think it adviſeable to abſolve him from the Excommunication till the King was reconciled to him, but readily undertook to mediate a Reconciliation; and wrote accordingly the above-mentioned Letters to *Charles* and *Hermentrude*, warmly recommending to both the penitent Count, who, he apprehended, might call in the *Normans*, if driven to Deſpair, and, jointly with them, make War upon *France*. His Mediation had the wiſhed-for Effect; *Baldwin* and *Judith* were received by the King into Favour; the Marriage was ſolemnized in due Form at *Auxerre*; and the Count reinſtated in the Government of *Flanders*, with the Title of *Count of the Kingdom*; by virtue of which he was to defend the Kingdom of *France* againſt the *Normans*, or, as the Pope calls them, *Northmans*, and all the Northern Barbarians [a].

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Beſides theſe Letters, the Pope delivered to his Legates their Inſtructions in Writing, called, in the Language of thoſe Days, *Commonitorium*, being calculated to admoniſh or put them in mind of

Inſtructions given to the Legates who were to aſſiſt at the Council of Metz.

[z] Annal. Bertin. l. ii. Nicol. ep. 20, 21.

[a] Annal. Bertin. Flodoard. l. iii. c. 12. Meyer. annal. Fland.

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the principal Heads of their Charge. As *Lotharius* pretended to have been married to *Waldrada* by the late Emperor his Father, while he was yet very young, and consequently that he could not, in Conscience, cohabit with *Theutberga* as his Wife, the Legates were directed, first of all, to examine with great Care into the Truth of the Fact; to cause the Marriage Treaty to be produced, as well as the Witnesses who were present; to inquire why the King put her away to marry the Daughter of *Boso*, that is, *Theutberga*, in her room; and not to proceed till these Points were all cleared up to their intire Satisfaction. If, upon Examination, the King's Marriage with *Waldrada* was found to be a mere Invention or Pretence, the Legates were, in that Case, to come to the Charge brought against *Theutberga:* And here the Pope informed them, that she had implored Three different times the Protection of the Apostolic See against the Violence that was offered her; that she had indeed confessed the Crime she was charged with to some Bishops of the Kingdom of *Lorraine*; but had sent a Person to *Rome* before she made that Confession, to complain of the violent Means that were used to extort from her the Confession of a Crime which she had never committed, and at the same time to declare, in her Name, that if she should own that, or any other Crime, it was not because she was guilty, but to save her Life, that she owned it. The Pope therefore charged the Legates to call *Theutberga* to the Council, that she might plead her Cause in Person before them; and to reverse the Sentence that had been pronounced against her at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, if she retracted the Confession that had given Occasion to it, as not voluntary, but extorted by Force, or by Menaces [b].

The Legate Zachary *deposed in a Council, for consenting to the Deposition of* Ignatius.

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With these Instructions the Legates set out for *Metz*, where the Council was to meet; and in the mean time the Monk *Theognostus*, of whom I have spoken above, arrived at *Rome*, with the Appeal of *Ignatius*, containing an Account of his Deposition, of the Intrusion of *Photius*, and the Prevarication of the Legates *Rodoald* and *Zachary*. The Pope, in reading it, was not more affected with the Sufferings of *Ignatius*, which were there minutely described, than provoked at the Conduct of his Legates, who, instead of complying with, had acted in direct Opposition to, the Instructions he had given them, and even endeavoured, after their Return, to impose upon him, by mis-

[b] Ivo, part. 8. c. 334. Gratian. quæst. 2. c. Lotharius, apud Baron. ad ann. 862. n. 61—65.

representing

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repreſenting to him the whole Affair. In order therefore to clear the Apoſtolic See from the Imputation of having been any-ways acceſſory to ſuch irregular and unjuſt Proceedings, and at the ſame time to afford to the perſecuted Patriarch all the Comfort and Relief in his Power, he reſolved to exert his whole Authority in his Defence, and to puniſh, in a moſt exemplary Manner, the Prevarication of the Legates. With that View he aſſembled, ſoon after the Arrival of *Theognoſtus*, a numerous Council of the Weſtern Biſhops in *Rome*, who met firſt in the *Vatican*, but were ſoon obliged, by the Cold, to adjourn from thence to the *Lateran*. In this Council were read, in the Firſt place, the Acts of that which *Photius* had held at *Conſtantinople*, the Emperor's Letters to the Pope, and, no doubt, the Act of the depoſed Patriarch's Appeal to the Apoſtolic See, all tranſlated from the *Greek* into *Latin*. In the next place, *Zachary* was brought before the Council, was ſtrictly examined, and being convicted, by his own Confeſſion, of having conſented to the Depoſition of *Ignatius*, and acknowleged *Photius*, he was by the Council excommunicated and depoſed. The Judging of *Rodoald*, his Fellow-legate and Accomplice, ſent lately into *France*, was put off till his Return to *Rome* and the Meeting of another Council [c].

Sentence pronounced in that Council againſt Photius.

In the ſame Council, the following Sentence was pronounced by the Pope againſt *Photius*, with the unanimous Conſent of all the Biſhops who compoſed it: "Whereas *Photius*, raiſed from a ſecular "and military Occupation to the Epiſcopal Dignity, and ordained by "*Gregory* of *Syracuſe*, long ſince condemned, has, in the Life-time of "our Brother *Ignatius*, Patriarch of the holy Church of *Conſtantinople*, "intruded himſelf into his See, and entered the Sheepfold not by the "Door, but like a Thief and a Robber; has communicated with thoſe "whom Pope *Benedict* our Predeceſſor had excommunicated and de"poſed; has preſumed to aſſemble a Council of his Followers, all "depoſed and condemned, excommunicated and anathematized, and "to condemn, anathematize, and depoſe, jointly with them, our Fel"low-miniſter the Patriarch *Ignatius*; has, in Defiance of the Law of "Nations, offered Violence to the Legates of the Apoſtolic See, and "forced them to act contrary to the Orders they had received; has ſent "into Exile the Biſhops who would not communicate with him, and "appointed ſuch only in their room as were Partakers with him in his "Wickedneſs; has perſecuted, and continues to perſecute, with un-

[c] Nicol. ep. 7.

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" heard-of Barbarity, the holy Patriarch *Ignatius*, and all who ſtand " up in Defence of his Innocence, and the Laws of the Church; the " ſaid *Photius* guilty of theſe and ſuch-like Enormities, is, by the Au- " thority of Almighty God, of the bleſſed Princes of the Apoſtles *Peter* " and *Paul*, of all the Saints, of the Six General Councils, and the " Judgment which the Holy Ghoſt pronounces by us, diveſted of the " Prieſthood, and all ſacerdotal Honours: So that if, after this Decree " (iſſued by the Council with one Conſent, and dictated, as we be- " lieve, by the Holy Ghoſt) comes to his Knowlege, he ſhall attempt " to preſide in the See of *Conſtantinople*, or ſhall any-ways diſturb *Ig-* " *natius* in the Government of the Church committed to his Care, or " preſume to perform any Function of the ſacred Miniſtry, he ſhall " never again be admitted to Communion, but remain, with all who " ſhall communicate with him, or ſupport him, anathematized, and " excluded from partaking of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus " Chriſt, except at the Point of Death (A)."

And Gregory *of* Syracuſe.

The like Sentence was pronounced againſt *Gregory* of *Syracuſe*, for having preſumed to ordain *Photius*, and perform ſeveral other Functions of the Epiſcopal Office, after he had been diveſted of the Epiſcopal Dignity, and all the Power attending it; and an Anathema was denounced againſt him, if he thenceforth took upon him to exerciſe any eccleſiaſtical Function whatever (B), if he raiſed new Diſturbances againſt *Ignatius*, or attempted to divert any from communicating with him as their lawful Biſhop. By a Third Sentence, all were excommunicated and degraded, whom *Photius* the *Neophyte*, as the Pope calls him by way of Contempt, and Uſurper of the Patriarchal See of *Conſtantinople*, had preferred to any Order in the Church. The Pope then, proceeding to the Reſtoration of *Igna-*

(A) That the Pope's excommunicating and depoſing the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, or any other Biſhop, is no Argument of his Supremacy, has been ſhewn elſewhere, on Occaſion of the Excommunication and Depoſition of *Acacius* of *Conſtantinople* by Pope *Felix*, the Second of that Name (1).

(B) *Excommunication* and *Anathema* were Two different Things: An excommunicated Perſon was excluded from partaking of the Euchariſt and the Prayers of the Faithful, and beſides ſuſpended, if an Eccleſiaſtic, from all eccleſiaſtical Functions; but he ſtill continued a Member of the Church, and might aſſiſt at the Service of the Catechumens, that is, at the Pſalmody, at the Reading of the Scriptures, and the Sermons. But ſuch as were anathematized, were totally expelled the Church, and debarred from all Communion with the Faithful, who were not even allowed to receive them into their Houſes, to eat at the ſame Table, or converſe familiarly with them. From them no Offerings or Oblations were received; nor were they buried, tho' abſolved before Death, with the ſame Rites as all other Chriſtians were.

(1) See Vol. II. p. 205, 206. 220.

tius,

tius, pronounced the following Sentence, in the Name of the Council and hisown: Year of Christ 863.

"As our moſt reverend and moſt holy Brother *Ignatius*, Patriarch "of the holy Church of *Conſtantinople*, has been driven with Violence "from his See by the Emperor; has been anathematized by the Uſur- "per *Photius* and his Accomplices, whom *Benedict* of holy Memory, "our Predeceſſor, had long ſince excommunicated; and has been ſtrip- "ped of the Enſigns of his Dignity by the Legates of the Apoſtolic "See, contrary to our expreſs Orders; we declare, by the Authority "of the ſupreme Judge our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that he has never been "anathematized or depoſed; ſince they, who judged and condemned "him, had received no ſuch Power from the Apoſtolic See: We there- "fore, by virtue of the Power conferred by our Lord upon us in St. "*Peter*, by the Authority of the Canons, and the Decrees of our Pre- "deceſſors, reſtore our ſaid Brother *Ignatius* to his former Dignity, "to his See, to the Rank of Patriarch, and to all the Badges of his "Office; and whoever, after the Publication of this our Decree, ſhall "dare to moleſt or diſturb him in the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, ſhall "ſeparate himſelf from his Communion, or preſume to judge him "anew, without the previous Conſent of the Apoſtolic See, ſhall be "depoſed, if he is a Clerk, and condemned, with the Traitor *Judas*, "to eternal Puniſhment: If he is a Layman (be who he will), he ſhall "be excommunicated, accurſed, and ſentenced by the eternal Judge, "unleſs he repents, to the ſame Puniſhment As for the Biſhops and "Clerks, of what Order ſoever, or Degree, who have been baniſhed "or depoſed on Occaſion of the unjuſt Expulſion of *Ignatius*, we com- "mand them to be recalled, and reſtored to their Sees and reſpective "Ranks; and anathematize all who ſhall preſume to oppoſe the Execu- "tion of this our Decree. If any Crime is laid to their Charge, let them "be firſt reſtored, and then judged; and by none will we ſuffer them to "be judged but by us, and our See, being authorized therein by the Ca- "nons." Laſtly, a Decree was iſſued by the Council, confirming what had been decreed by the Popes, and other Councils, concerning the Images of our Saviour, of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, of all the Saints, whoſe Life and Converſation had been pleaſing to God, from the Time of *Abel* to the preſent; and anathematizing *John* of *Conſtantinople*, with his Followers, teaching that Images ought to be broken, and trampled under foot [c]. To theſe the Pope added Two

Sentence in favour of Ignatius.

The Uſe and Worſhip of Images confirmed, and the Theopaſchites *condemned.*

[c] Nicol. ep. 7. Libellus Synodic.

De-

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Decrees of a Council he had held in *Rome* the preceding Year; the one declaring againſt the *Theopaſchites*, whoſe Hereſy began, it ſeems, to ſpring up anew, that Chriſt had ſuffered in his Humanity, and not in his Divinity, as they pretended; the other anathematizing all who ſhould maintain, teach, or propagate the oppoſite Doctrine [d]. How the Pope's thundering Edicts were received at *Conſtantinople*, we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

Lotharius *gains over the Pope's Legates.*

This Council was held in the Month of *March* of the preſent Year, as is ſaid by the Pope in a Letter he wrote to *Ado* Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, when he ſent him the Pall [e]; and in *June* following, another was convened likewiſe in *Rome*, to examine the Acts of the Council of *Metz* relating to the Divorce of *Lotharius* and *Theutberga*, an Affair that engaged the Attention of the Pope no leſs than that of *Ignatius*. He had appointed a Council to aſſemble at *Metz*, which was to conſiſt, as has been related above, not of the Biſhops of the Kingdom of *Lorraine* only, who were juſtly ſuſpected of Partiality for their Prince, but of all the Biſhops of *France* and *Germany*; and both Parties, *Theutberga* as well as *Lotharius*, were to plead their Cauſe in Perſon before them and the Legates; but the final Deciſion of the Point in Diſpute, the Lawfulneſs of the Divorce, was to be referred to the Judgment of the Apoſtolic See. With theſe Inſtructions the Two Legates, *Rodoald* and *John*, ſet out from *Rome*; and repairing, in the Firſt place, in Compliance with their Orders, to the Court of *Lorraine*, they communicated them there to the King. *Lotharius* well knew, that his whole Conduct in this Affair had given great Offence to all the *Gallican* Biſhops, except thoſe of his own Kingdom; that they all loudly exclaimed againſt the Deciſion of the Council of *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and conſequently that they would oblige him to diſmiſs *Waldrada*, and take *Theutberga* again to his Bed. As for his former Marriage with *Waldrada*, and the Crime he laid to the Charge of the Queen, he was ſenſible that neither would ſtand the Teſt of an impartial and ſtrict Examination: The only poſſible Means, therefore, that occurred to him of ſurmounting all Difficulties, and carrying his Point, was to prevent any other Biſhops from aſſiſting at the Council but his own, whoſe Complaiſance he had already experienced in Three different Councils. He applied accordingly to the Legates, and, with rich Preſents, and immenſe Sums of Money, *immenſis opibus*,

[d] Nicol. ibid. [e] Bibl. Floriac. p. 53.

(ſays

(ſays *Regino)* prevailed upon them to ſuppreſs the Pope's Letters to the *French* Kings, deſiring them to ſend each Two Biſhops to the Council; and likewiſe the circulatory Letter to all the *Gallican* and *German* Biſhops: So that the Council only conſiſted of the Biſhops of *Lorraine*; and they indeed were all preſent, except *Hungarius* of *Utrecht*, who was prevented by Sickneſs from attending with the reſt. By the Inſtructions given to the Legates, the Queen was to be admitted to the Council, was to plead her Cauſe in Perſon before them, and if ſhe denied the Crime laid to her Charge, and retracted her Confeſſion, they were to revoke the Sentence pronounced by former Councils againſt her. But the Legates, departing in every thing from their Inſtructions, did not ſo much as acquaint the Queen with the Meeting of the Council, nor did they at all inquire, as they were ſtrictly charged to do, into the pretended Marriage of *Lotharius* and *Waldrada*; but having heard ſome ſuborned Witneſſes againſt *Theutberga*, and cauſed the Acts of the Council of *Aix-la-Chapelle* to be read to them, they confirmed thoſe Acts, and declared *Waldrada* to be *the lawful Wife of the moſt glorious and religious King* Lotharius. One of the Biſhops, whoſe Name is not recorded, in ſigning that Decree, added, that *nothing ought to be finally determined till it was ſubmitted to the Judgment of the Pope.* But theſe Words were cancelled by the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and the Biſhop's Name only left, as if he had ſubſcribed without any Reſtriction, as well as the reſt [d].

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Waldrada *declared by the Council his lawful Wife.*

As the Legates, and the other Biſhops of the Council, were conſcious to themſelves of the Irregularity and Injuſtice of their Proceedings, it was agreed among them, that the Two Archbiſhops ſhould repair to *Rome* in Perſon, ſhould deliver the Acts of the Council to the Pope, and at the ſame time repreſent the Affair to his Holineſs, by Word of Mouth, in the moſt favourable Light. This Province the Two Prelates readily undertook; and being admitted to the Pope's Preſence as ſoon as they arrived in *Rome*, they delivered the Acts into his Hands, telling him, that they had neither done more nor leſs than what was there contained. As, before their Arrival, the Pope had been informed by ſeveral Perſons come to *Rome*, as well as by Letters, probably from the *Gallican* and *German* Biſhops, of every thing that had paſſed at *Metz*, he asked them, Whether they would ſtand to what they had done? They anſwered, They

The Council of Metz *condemned by the Pope, and the Archbiſhops of* Cologne *and* Treves *depoſed.*

[d] Nicol. ep. 58. Annal. Bertin.

would

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would not contradict with their Lips what they had ſigned with their Hands. The Pope ſaid no more; but, diſmiſſing them, cauſed the Acts they had brought to be read in a Council that was then ſitting in the *Lateran* Palace; and they were found ſo full of profane and unheard-of Propoſitions, ſays the Bibliothecarian, that the Biſhops of that Aſſembly could not help looking upon thoſe of *Metz* as Men ſeized with a kind of Phrenzy. The Judgment, therefore, which they had given, was, with one Conſent, annulled by the Pope, and all the Biſhops who were preſent, as only calculated to encourage Adultery and Adulterers; and the Council itſelf was ſtigmatized with the Name of a Brothel. The Two Archbiſhops, *Theutgaud* and *Gunthier*, were depoſed, and forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to exerciſe any Sacerdotal or Epiſcopal Functions whatever. The other Biſhops their Accomplices were threatened with the like Sentence, if they did not repent, ask Pardon, and repair the Scandal they had given. *Engeltrude*, the Wife of Count *Boſo*, who had been excommunicated by the Pope [e], but was abſolved from that Excommunication by the Council of *Metz*, was excommunicated anew, with all who ſhould favour or countenance her, or communicate with her. However, ſhe was promiſed Forgiveneſs, if ſhe returned to her Husband, or, repenting of her paſt Wickedneſs, applied for Abſolution to the Apoſtolic See. Laſtly, all were anathematized who did not pay due Obedience to the Decrees of the Apoſtolic See concerning the Catholic Faith, the Eccleſiaſtic Diſcipline, and the Reformation of Manners.

who apply to the Emperor.

The Two Prelates, highly provoked at the haughty and arbitrary Proceedings of the Pope and his Biſhops, in thus condemning them and a whole Council, without having firſt heard what they had to allege in their Defence, left *Rome*, and repairing to the Emperor, who was then at *Benevento*, complained to him of the unworthy Treatment they met with as an Affront not only offered to his Brother the King of *Lorraine*, whoſe Deputies they were, but to himſelf, and the whole Royal Family; repreſented to him the depoſing a Metropolitan, without the Approbation of the Prince, and the Conſent of the other Metropolitans, as a Thing never before heard of, as a notorious Breach of the fundamental Laws of the Church, and an Encroaching on the Prerogatives of Princes, as well as on the Rights of all other Biſhops; and therefore entreated him to exert

[e] See above, p. 287.

his

his Authority to reſtrain the growing Power of the Pope within the Limits preſcribed by the Canons, and oblige him to reſtore thoſe, whom he had ſo unjuſtly depoſed, to their former Rank and Degrees. The Emperor readily interpoſed, and wrote to the Pope in their favour; but finding him unalterable, and being, at the ſame time, animated againſt him by the Two Archbiſhops, he reſolved to let him know that he was his Lord and his Maſter. He ſet out accordingly for *Rome*, with the Empreſs, with the Two Archbiſhops, and a Body of Troops, determined to make the Pope pay dear for his Diſobedience, if he did not, in Compliance with his Will, reinſtate the depoſed Biſhops in their Sees. The Pope, informed of the Reſolution of the Emperor, ordered a public Faſt, with public Prayers and Proceſſions, to implore the Protection of Heaven, and beſeech the Almighty, in whoſe Hands are the Hearts of Kings, to inſpire the Prince with a more favourable Diſpoſition of Mind for the See of St. *Peter*. The Emperor took up his Abode near the Church of St. *Peter*; and the People coming thither in Proceſſion to the Tomb of that Apoſtle, his Guards, alarmed upon ſeeing the Populace aſſembled in ſuch Crowds, fell upon them as they were going up the Steps to the Church, threw ſome of them down, beat others, broke their Croſſes and Banners, and diſperſed the whole Multitude. The Pope, who was then in the *Lateran* Palace, being informed of what had paſſed, and at the ſame time told, that the Emperor deſigned to ſeize on his Perſon, privately withdrew from thence, and embarking on the *Tyber*, took Refuge in the Church of St. *Peter*, and remained there Two whole Days, without eating or drinking. In the mean time the Emperor was, very ſeaſonably for the Pope, ſeized with a Fever; and it was given out, that one died ſuddenly, who, in the late Tumult, had broken a Croſs, which St. *Helena*, the Mother of *Conſtantine the Great*, had formerly given to the *Roman* Church, and in which was incloſed ſome of the Wood of the true Croſs. Whether this was true, or, what is more probable, a mere Invention of the Pope or his Friends, we know not. But it had the wiſhed-for Effect; for the Emperor believing it, and thereupon ſuffering Superſtition to prevail over his good Senſe, ſent the Empreſs in Perſon to let the Pope know, that he might quit his Aſylum with great Safety, and to invite him to a Conference. In this Interview, the Pope, no doubt, informed the Emperor of the true State of the Affair of his Brother *Lotharius*, and the ſhocking Proceedings

Year of Chriſt 863.

The Emperor goes to Rome.

Year of Chriſt 864.

The Pope takes Refuge in the Church of St. Peter.

The Emperor reconciled with him.

Year of Chriſt 864.

of the Council of *Metz*: And the Reſult was, that the Emperor, abandoning the Protection of the Two Archbiſhops, ordered them back into *France*. As the Emperor came to *Rome* full of Wrath againſt the Pope, the Troops he had with him committed, at firſt, moſt dreadful Diſorders; they plundered the Houſes, and burnt them; broke into the Churches, and ſtripped them of all their valuable Ornaments; murdered the Men, and raviſhed the Women, not ſparing even thoſe who were ſhut up in the Monaſteries[f]. But if the Emperor came like a Lion, he went away like a Lamb; and repairing to *Ravenna*, he there kept his *Eaſter*, which, in the preſent Year 864, fell on the Second of *April*.

Gunthier's *Letter to the Biſhops of* Lorraine *and the Pope.*

The Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, finding himſelf forſaken by the Emperor, and thereupon deſpairing of being ever reſtored to his See, drew up, in the Name of the Archbiſhop of *Treves*, as well as his own, a Kind of Proteſt, or rather an Invective againſt the Pope, and ſent it to the Biſhops of the Kingdom of *Lorraine*. He there entreated thoſe Biſhops not to credit the Reports they might hear to his Prejudice and his Collegue's; exhorted them not to think the worſe of either for any thing *Nicholas* had done, *Nicholas*, ſaid he, who is called Pope, but affects the Empire of the whole World; encouraged them to continue united among themſelves, to viſit their King frequently, to aſſiſt him with their Advice, to engage as many as they could in his Cauſe, and, above all Things, to keep his Uncle *Lewis* King of *Germany* ſteady in his Intereſt. *Gunthier*, having thus far directed his Speech to the Biſhops of *Lorraine*, addreſſes himſelf in the next place to the Pope, in the following Words: "We "were deputed to you by the Biſhops our Brethren to acquaint "you with the Judgment we had given, and lay before you the "Authorities and Reaſons that induced us to give it. We commu-"nicated them to you accordingly in Writing, in order to know "whether you approved or diſapproved of what we had done; and "humbly entreated you to teach and inſtruct us, being ready to em-"brace what ſhould be thought beſt. But you, after keeping us "for Three whole Weeks in Suſpence, only declared one Day in "public, that, according to what was ſet forth in our Writing, we "ſeemed innocent and excuſeable. At laſt you ſent for us; and "when we were brought into your Preſence, ſuſpecting no ill Treat-"ment, you cauſed the Doors to be ſhut, and we were firſt ſet upon

[f] Annal. Bertin.

"by

" by a mixed Crowd of Clerks and Laymen; and then, without any " Synod, or any canonical Examination; without Accuſers, Wit- " neſſes, or any Proofs from Authority or Reaſon to convince us; " without our own Confeſſion; without the Concurrence of other " Biſhops or other Metropolitans; you arbitrarily condemned us out " of your tyrannical Rage, being inſtigated thereunto by your only " Counſellor *Anaſtaſius*, a condemned, depoſed, and anathematized " Prieſt: We do not therefore ſubmit to your wicked Sentence, but " reject and deſpiſe it as a Curſe uttered in the Tranſport of your " Fury, contrary to Juſtice, to Reaſon, to the Canons: And ſatiſ- " fied with the Communion of the Catholic Church, which you " arrogantly deſpiſe, and of which you have rendered yourſelf un- " worthy by your Pride, we exclude you from our Communion, as " an Abettor of excommunicated Perſons, and one who communi- " cates with them. You have anathematized yourſelf in anathema- " tizing thoſe who do not obſerve the Apoſtolical Precepts, when you " yourſelf have tranſgreſſed them in ſo many Inſtances, annulling, " ſo far as in you lies, the Inſtitutions of your Predeceſſors, and with " them the divine Laws, as well as the Laws of the Church. It is " not to revenge the Injuſtice you have done to us in particular that " we thus addreſs you, but to vindicate the Dignity, and aſſert the " Rights of our Order, which you have ſo iniquitouſly invaded." Year of Chriſt 864.

He cloſes his Letter with declaring, that, notwithſtanding the Judgment given by Pope *Nicholas* and his Council, *Waldrada* was, by the Laws divine, civil, and canonical, not the Concubine, but the lawful Wife of the King of *Lorraine* g. The Direction of this Writing was, Gunthier *and* Theutgaud *to Pope* Nicholas, tho' *Theutgaud* was no-ways concerned in it. *Gunthier* ſent Copies of it to all the Biſhops of *Lorraine*; One he tranſmitted to *Photius*, deſiring his Communion, and entering into a Kind of Alliance with him againſt the Pope; and One he charged his Brother *Hilduin* to deliver into the Pope's own Hands, and, if he would not receive it, to lay it on the Tomb of St. *Peter*. *Hilduin* went accordingly, attended by a Troop of armed Men, to preſent it to the Pope while he was in the Church of St. *Peter*; but the Pope refuſing to receive it, and the Keepers of the Church ſtriving at the ſame time to prevent him from approaching the Tomb of St. *Peter*, his Men fell upon them Sword in Hand, killed one of them, wounded others, and thus made

g Annal. Bertin.

Year of Christ 864.

way for *Hilduin*, who laid the Writing on the Tomb of the Apoſtle, and then withdrew to his Brother, who was, it ſeems, ſtill in *Rome*; but he ſoon after returned to *Cologne*, and there ſaid Maſs on *Maundy Thurſday*, conſecrated the Chriſm, and performed every other Function of the Epiſcopal Office [h].

Is laid on the Tomb of St. Peter.

The Archbiſhop of Treves *ſubmits to his Sentence,*

Of all the Biſhops who had aſſiſted at the Council of *Metz*, *Gunthier* alone had the Courage to oppoſe the uncanonical and arbitrary Proceedings of the Pope. As for the Archbiſhop of *Treves*, he acquieſced, from the Beginning, in his Sentence, and abſtained from all Epiſcopal Functions; and the reſt of the Biſhops, finding themſelves threatened with Excommunication and Depoſition, if they did not retract the Judgment they had given, thought it adviſeable to ſubmit; and they wrote accordingly to the Pope, owning or excuſing their Fault, and begging his Holineſs to forgive them. Of the ſeveral Letters that, on this Occaſion, were written to the Pope by the penitent Biſhops, that only of *Adventius* of *Metz* has been tranſmitted to us. He begins it with extolling the Pope for the inimitable Sanctity of his exemplary Life, and excuſing himſelf, on account of his Age, of the Gout, and other Infirmities, for not repairing in Perſon to the Threſholds of the Apoſtles, and his moſt deſirable Preſence. He then declares, that he no longer looks upon *Gunthier* and *Theutgaud* as Biſhops, tho' the latter ſubmits to his Sentence, forbears exerciſing any Epiſcopal Function, confeſſes his Fault, and owns himſelf to have been led aſtray by the perverſe Obſtinacy of the other, meaning *Gunthier*; and on him he lays chiefly the Blame, exaggerating his Guilt in preſuming to perform the Functions of the Archiepiſcopal Office, tho' degraded and excommunicated by the Authority of the Apoſtolic See. As for himſelf, he proteſts before God, before the Angels and Archangels, that, in the Affair of King *Lotharius*, he verily believed the Facts that were related in the Council, relying on the Veracity of thoſe who related them (Q); that, agreeably to the Canons, he ſubmitted his Judgment to that of the Metropolitans, as it did not become him to oppoſe them and ſo many

and the other Biſhops retract the Judgment they had given.

Letter of the Biſhop of Metz *to the Pope.*

[h] Annal. Bertin.

(Q) The improbable Tale that *Lotharius* married *Waldrada* by the Command of the Emperor *Lotharius* his Father, while he was yet very young, and was afterwards forced by Count *Hubert*, ſurnamed *Acephale*, to marry his Siſter *Theutberga*, was related in the Council of *Aix-la Chapelle*, by this very Biſhop, as a Fact not to be queſtioned; nay, and is ſuppoſed to have been invented by him, to gratify the King.

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many Biſhops, all his Seniors in the Epiſcopacy; that too much Credulity, and a blind Deference to the Opinion of his Superiors and his Brethren, are the only Things that can be laid juſtly to his Charge; that he was no-ways concerned in the Abſolution of *Engeltrude*; that he not only abſtains himſelf, but exhorts others to abſtain, from the Communion of ſuch as have been excommunicated by the Vicar of St. *Peter*, if they preſume to perform any ſacred Functions; that he is guilty of no Sedition or Conſpiracy, but inviolably attached to the See of the prime Apoſtle, whom our Saviour had truſted with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. In the Cloſe of his Letter, he excuſes his Delay in ſending to *Rome* this his Declaration; aſcribes it to his having firſt endeavoured to perſuade the reſt of his Brethren to act in Concert with him; and beſeeches his Holineſs to let him know, by the Return of the Meſſenger, that he has forgiven him, that, as he is near his End, he may have the Satisfaction of dying in his Communion [i]. With this Letter *Adventius* ſent another, written at his Requeſt to the Pope, by *Charles* King of *France*; wherein that Prince warmly recommended him to his Holineſs, as one whom his Uncle *Drogo*, the immediate Predeceſſor of *Adventius* in the See of *Metz*, had educated, and thought worthy of his Friendſhip, and whom he himſelf had always loved and eſteemed.

The Pope's Anſwer to the Biſhop of Metz.

The Pope received the Apology of *Adventius*, ſuch as it was, and ſo he did that of all the other Biſhops, upon Condition that they renounced the Communion of *Gunthier*, and encouraged the King, as was incumbent upon them, to repair the Scandal he had given. *Adventius* had ſaid in his Letter, that he had ſubmitted to the King agreeably to the Command of the Apoſtle, *Submit yourſelf to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the King as Supreme*, &c [k]. In Anſwer to that, the Pope, in his Letter, approves the Saying of the Apoſtle; but adds, *See whether the Princes and Kings, to whom you ſubmit, be really Princes and Kings; whether they govern themſelves well, and likewiſe their Subjects; for to whom will he be good, who is not good to himſelf? See whether they have a Right to the Title of Princes, otherwiſe we ought to look upon them as Tyrants rather than Princes or Kings, and, inſtead of ſubmitting to them, reſiſt and oppoſe them; ſince we cannot ſubmit to them without favouring their Vices:*

[i] Apud Baron. ad ann. 853. n. 59, & ſeq.

[k] St. Peter, c. xi. ver. 13.

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Submit therefore to the King as Supreme, *or as exceeding all by his Virtues, and not by his Vices; and ſubmit to him for the Lord's ſake, as the Apoſtle commands, and not againſt the Lord.* We have here a notable Diſagreement between the Two Popes, Pope *Peter* and Pope *Nicholas*. Pope *Peter* thought Obedience was due to Princes, be they ever ſo bad; for *Nero*, that Monſter of Wickedneſs, was King or Emperor when he commanded the Faithful to *ſubmit themſelves to every Ordinance of Man, whether it be to the King*, &c. But Pope *Nicholas* teaches a very different Doctrine, *viz.* that Obedience is not due to bad Princes, perverting for that Purpoſe the Words of his pretended Predeceſſor; *be ſubject to the King as excelling, that is*, ſays he, *as excelling in Virtues, not in Vices:* Whereas the Apoſtle evidently meant an Eminency in Power, abſtracting from the Vices, as well as the Virtues, of him in whom it was veſted. Beſides, the Pope here ſuppoſes that a Prince may forfeit his Crown and his Title by perſonal Vices that hurt none but himſelf; and that, for ſuch Vices, we ought to look upon him as a Tyrant, and, inſtead of ſubmitting to him, reſiſt and oppoſe him: A moſt ſeditious and impious Doctrine!

Lotharius *abandons the Archbiſhop of* Cologne,

The Two Archbiſhops were not ſo much concerned at the Conduct of their Brethren on the preſent Occaſion, as at that of the King: They had acted in this whole Affair as he had directed them, and it was to gratify him that they had incurred the Diſpleaſure of the Pope. But he, inſtead of ſupporting them, no ſooner heard of the Sentence pronounced againſt them at *Rome*, than he withdrew from their Communion, and no longer looking upon them as Biſhops, would not aſſiſt at the Maſs that *Gunthier*, his grand Chaplain, ſaid upon his Return to *Cologne*. He even wrote to the Pope by *Rabold* Biſhop of *Strasburgh*, highly diſapproving the refractory Behaviour of the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and at the ſame time commending the oppoſite Conduct of his Collegue the Archbiſhop of *Treves* in ſubmitting to his Sentence, and abſtaining from all the Functions of his Office. In another Letter which he wrote at this time to the Pope, he referred the Point in diſpute to the Judgment of the Apoſtolic See; offered to go to *Rome* to plead his Cauſe there in Perſon; ſolemnly declared that it was againſt his Will the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* had ſaid Maſs; and that, far from countenancing him in his Diſobedience, he had adviſed and exhorted him to acquieſce, as the the other had done, in his Sentence. The King did not content him-

himſelf with thus only diſapproving the Conduct of *Gunthier*; he ſoon after intirely forſook him, confirmed the Sentence of his Depoſition, and, to recommend himſelf the more effectually to the Favour of the Pope, appointed him a Succeſſor in the See of *Cologne*, viz. *Hugh*, Couſin-german to *Charles the Bald*, and Nephew to the late Empreſs *Judith*, who was only a Subdeacon, and led a Life unworthy of a good Layman. *Gunthier*, highly provoked at the Ingratitude of *Lotharius* in thus acknowleging his Services, plundered the Treaſury of his Church, and, repairing to *Rome* with all the Wealth he found in it, diſcloſed to the Pope, without Reſerve, the various Artifices and Inventions that had been made uſe of by himſelf and the King in the Affair of *Theutberga* and *Waldrada*, to impoſe upon the other Biſhops, as well as the Apoſtolic See. He flattered himſelf, and ſo did *Theutgaud*, who went to *Rome* at the ſame time, that the Pope, ſatisfied with their public Confeſſion, would abſolve them from the Excommunication, and perhaps reſtore them to their Sees, if the Emperor, to whom they deſigned to apply, interpoſed in their favour. But *Nicholas*, inſtead of revoking, confirmed, in a Council aſſembled in the *Lateran*, the Sentence he had formerly pronounced againſt the Two Prelates, and acquainted therewith, by a circulatory Letter, the *German* and *Gallican* Biſhops, that they might not plead Ignorance in treating them thenceforth as Biſhops, or communicating with them [l].

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who diſcloſes the Whole to the Pope;

but is not therefore reſtored to his See.

It was probably in this Council that the Legate *Rodoald*, Biſhop of *Porto*, whoſe Avarice and ſcandalous Conduct both in the Eaſt and the Weſt, reflected ſo much Diſgrace on the holy See, was excommunicated and depoſed. Conſcious of his Guilt, he had abſconded after the Council of *Metz*; but returning to *Rome* when the Emperor and the Two Archbiſhops were there, he unexpectedly appeared before the Pope while he was ſhut up, and ſurrounded by his Enemies, in the Church of St. *Peter*. As the Pope could not then convene a Council to judge him, he ordered him to remain in *Rome* till the Meeting of one, when he ſhould have an Opportunity of juſtifying his Conduct; aſſured him, that, in the mean time, he had nothing to fear; but threatened him with Excommunication and Depoſition, if, without his Leave, he withdrew, and abſconded anew. *Rodoald* well knew what would be the Conſequence of his being judged by the Pope and a Council; and therefore leaving *Rome*

The Legate Rodoald *excommunicated and depoſed.*

[l] Annal. Bertin.

privately,

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privately, he firſt plundered his Church, that of *Porto*, and then fled to ſome other Country, where he was never more heard of. Hereupon the Pope, looking upon his Flight as a Confeſſion of his Guilt, excommunicated and depoſed him; threatening at the ſame time to anathematize him, if he communicated with the anathematized *Photius*, or gave any Trouble to the Patriarch *Ignatius* [m]. The Pope, it ſeems, apprehended, that he had fled into the Eaſt, to put himſelf there under the Protection of his Friend *Photius*.

Diſpute between Hincmar *and* Rothade.

In this ſame Council, or in One held about the ſame time, was determined the Diſpute between *Rothade* Biſhop of *Soiſſons*, and his Metropolitan the celebrated *Hincmar* Archbiſhop of *Reims*. *Rothade* had depoſed a Presbyter of his Dioceſe guilty of Fornication. But *Hincmar*, to whom the Presbyter appealed knowing that he had long borne a ſecret Grudge to the Biſhop of *Soiſſons*, ordered him to be reſtored after Three Years; and excommunicating in the mean time the Presbyter, whom *Rothade* had appointed in his room, inſiſted on his being forthwith removed from his Church, and ſhut up in a Priſon. As the Judgment given by *Rothade* had been confirmed by no fewer than Thirty Biſhops, he refuſed to comply with that of the Metropolitan; who having thereupon aſſembled a Council in the Suburbs of *Soiſſons* in 861, ſuſpended him, for his Diſobedience, from Epiſcopal Communion, till he obeyed. The following Year, *Charles the Bald* having appointed a Council to meet at *Piſtes*, now *Poiſſi*, *Rothade* repaired thither, to aſſiſt at it with the reſt of the Biſhops; but finding they would not admit him, alleging that he had been excluded by his Metropolitan from Epiſcopal Communion, he appealed to the Apoſtolic See; and his Appeal was allowed by the Council. He therefore returned to *Soiſſons*, in order to prepare for his Journey to *Rome*; but, before he ſet out, he wrote to the King, and to *Hincmar*, recommending his Church to their Care in his Abſence; and likewiſe to One of the Biſhops his particular Friend, deſiring him to apply to the other Biſhops, and implore, in his Name, their Aſſiſtance. The Biſhop, to whom this Letter was addreſſed, was returned to his Dioceſe, when the Preſbyter, who was charged with it, arrived at *Poiſſi*. But *Hincmar* and the King, who were ſtill there, obliged him to produce it; and *Hincmar*, having got it into his Poſſeſſion, laid hold of what was ſaid in it to put a Stop to *Rothade*'s Journey to *Rome*. He pretended,

Rothade *is ſuſpended, and appeals to the Pope.*

Hincmar *puts a Stop to his Journey to* Rome.

[m] Nicol. ep. 7.

that

that *Rothade*, by imploring the Protection of the Biſhops of *France*, had conſented to his being judged by them, and dropt his Appeal to the Pope. He was therefore ordered, in the King's Name, not to ſtir from his Dioceſe; and *Hincmar* repairing from *Poiſſi*, with the Biſhops who ſtill remained there, to *Soiſſons*, ſummoned him to appear before them, in order to be judged by thoſe, whom he himſelf had choſen for his Judges, and from whoſe Judgment there lay no Appeal, agreeably to the univerſally received Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, *ab electis judicibus appellare non licet, it is not lawful to appeal from Judges of one's own chuſing*. *Rothade* refuſed to comply with the Summons, ſolemnly declared it had never entered into his Thoughts to chuſe the Biſhops of *France* for his Judges, taxed *Hincmar* with unfair Dealing, in intercepting and miſinterpreting a Letter he had written to a Friend, and renewed his Appeal to the Pope.

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In the mean time the King coming to *Soiſſons* to aſſiſt at the Council, *Rothade* had an Interview with him, and was graciouſly received; but he could not prevail upon him to agree to his going to *Rome* without the Conſent of his Metropolitan, and the Biſhops of the Council, whoſe Province it was, he ſaid, to determine that Point. After this Interview, he was ſummoned the Third time, and, upon his ſtill refuſing to appear, taken into Cuſtody, and ſhut up in a Cell, to wait there for his Sentence. He had not been thus long confined, when Three Biſhops came to acquaint him, in the Name of the Council, that he was depoſed, and no longer a Biſhop. From this Sentence *Rothade* appealed anew to the Apoſtolic See; but *Hincmar*, paying no kind of Regard to his Appeal, cauſed him to be impriſoned, and even ordained another in his room. He offered him, however, a rich Abbey, upon Condition that he withdrew his Appeal, and acquieſced in his Sentence. This Offer *Rothade* rejected with Scorn; and *Hincmar* in the mean time, having cauſed the fornicating Prieſt, whom he had depoſed, to be made an Eunuch (perhaps the only effectual Remedy againſt the Incontinence of Prieſts) reſtored him to his Church. Thus *Rothade* in the Act of his Appeal to the Pope [n]. But the *Bertinian* Annaliſt, who lived at this time, approves of his Depoſition, ſtiles him a *new Pharaoh*, on account of his Obſtinacy in not ſubmitting to his Sentence, and ſpeaks of him as *a Man changed into a Brute, homo mutatus in belluam* [o]. How-

Rothade *depoſed in a Council, and impriſoned.*

[n] Apud Baron. ad ann. 863. n. 81. [o] Annal. Bertin. ad hunc ann. & Nicol. ep. 29.

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ever that be, he was, it ſeems, greatly beloved by the People of his Dioceſe; for when the Legates, *Rodoald* and *John*, came to *Soiſſons* to deliver the Pope's Letter in favour of *Baldwin* to the King [p], they crouded from all Parts, demanding, with loud Cries, the Liberty and Reſtoration of their Biſhop, though *Hilmerade*, Biſhop of *Chalons*, commanded them, in the Name of the King and the Archbiſhop, to deſiſt, and endeavoured to diſperſe them with Blows, as well as with Menaces. I cannot perſuade myſelf that he would have been ſo dear to his Flock, had he anſwered the Character that *Hincmar* and the *Bertinian* Annaliſt, perhaps partial to *Hincmar*, have given him. The Pope ſpeaks of him very favourably [q]; but his appealing from his Metropolitan and a national Council to the Apoſtolic See, was enough to recommend him to his Holineſs's Favour.

The Pope orders Hincmar *to reſtore him to his See.*

The Pope was ſoon informed by ſeveral Perſons of what had paſſed at *Soiſſons*; and he no ſooner received that Information, than looking upon the Depoſition of *Rothade* as contrary to the Canons, and derogatory to the Privileges of the Apoſtolic See, he wrote to *Hincmar*, ordering him to reſtore the depoſed Biſhop within the Term of Thirty Days after the Receipt of his Letter, to grant him Leave to come to *Rome*, and either to come with him, or to ſend a Deputy to act in his Name, on Pain of being *ipſo facto* ſuſpended from ſaying Maſs; and that Sentence he extended to all the Biſhops who had conſented to the Depoſition of *Rothade*. Upon the Receipt of this Letter, *Hincmar*, and the other Biſhops of the Council of *Soiſſons*, diſpatched *Odo*, Biſhop of *Beauvais*, to *Rome*, with the Acts of that Council, and Letters to juſtify their Conduct, and entreat the Pope to confirm the Judgment they had given. The King wrote at the ſame time, and ſo did *Hermentrude* the Queen, at his Requeſt, to beg the Pope not to patronize or protect one, whom the other Biſhops had judged unworthy of the Epiſcopal Dignity, and depoſed in a Council. But thoſe Letters, and much more, the Acts of the Council, only ſerved to engage the Pope more warmly in the Defence of *Rothade*, or, as he pretended, of the violated Privileges of his See: He therefore wrote to *Hincmar*, expreſſing great Surprize and Concern at his preſuming to judge and depoſe one who had appealed to the Apoſtolic See, nay, and to appoint him a Succeſſor, notwithſtanding his Appeal, in Defiance of the Canons received by the whole Church. This, he tells *Hincmar*, he cannot bear, nor diſ-

Letters from Hincmar *to the Pope, and from the Pope to* Hincmar.

[p] See above, p. 289.

[q] Nicol. ep. 29.

ſemble

ſemble being determined to maintain, to his laſt Breath, the juſt Rights of his See; exhorts, or rather commands him to ſet *Rothade* forthwith at Liberty, and no longer to obſtruct his Journey to *Rome* under any Pretence whatſoever, ſince he ſhould think himſelf obliged, if he did not obey after the Third Admonition (and this, he tells him, is the Second) to proceed to the Sentence that his Diſobedience and Obſtinacy deſerved [r]. The Pope wrote at the ſame time a Letter, much to the ſame Purpoſe, in Anſwer to that of the Biſhops of the Council; for he there declared the Sentence they had pronounced to be repugnant to the Canons, to thoſe of *Sardica* in particular; to be inconſiſtent with the Privileges of his See, and conſequently null; ordered them to ſend *Rothade* to *Rome*, and Two or Three Biſhops with him, or, at leaſt, Two Deputies, in order to his being judged anew, and either condemned or abſolved, according to the Canons; and concluded with threatening to treat them as they had treated him, if they did not obey within the Space of Thirty Days after the Receipt of his Letter [s]. In this Letter, the Pope lays it down as a general Rule, that when the Canons and the Imperial Laws, which the Biſhops had alleged againſt Appeals, interfere with one another, the Canons ought to take place; which, in effect, was not only eſtabliſhing one Empire within another, *imperium in imperio*, but ſubjecting the ſecular Empire to the eccleſiaſtic, the State to the Church, and Princes and Emperors to the Pope and the Clergy. The Pope wrote at the ſame time to the King, *Charles the Bald*, deſiring him to grant *Rothade* Liberty to come to *Rome* [t]; and likewiſe to *Rothade* himſelf, to acquaint him with what he had written to *Hincmar* and the other Biſhops, and encourage him to purſue, in ſpite of all Oppoſition, his Appeal to the See of St. *Peter* [u].

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Upon the Receipt of theſe Letters, *Hincmar*, unwilling to quarrel with the Pope, releaſed *Rothade* from his Confinement; and the King, in a Council held at *Verberie*, conſented in the end to his going to *Rome* [w]. They took care to acquaint the Pope immediately therewith by the Deacon *Lindo*, whom they diſpatched to *Rome* for that Purpoſe; and by the ſame Deacon, on his Return to *France*, the Pope wrote to the King, to the Queen, and anew to *Rothade*. In his Letter to the King, he expreſſed great Satisfaction at his having

Rothade *releaſed, and allowed to go to* Rome.

[r] Nicol. ep. 28. [s] Idem, ep. 32. [t] Idem, ep. 30. [u] Idem, ep. 29.
[w] Annal. Bertin.

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granted to *Rothade* the ſo long wiſhed-for Liberty of coming to *Rome*, and exhorted him to ſupply him with what was neceſſary for his Journey [x]. He excuſed himſelf, in his Letter to the Queen, for not complying with her Requeſt, ſince he could not abandon one, who thinking himſelf injured, had appealed to him [y]; and encouraged *Rothade* anew, in his Letter to him, to adhere to his Appeal, provided he was conſcious to himſelf of his Innocence; but, if he was not, to acquieſce in his Sentence, and not give himſelf and others unneceſſary Trouble [z].

Hincmar's *Letter to the Pope.*

Hincmar, finding his Conduct gave great Offence at *Rome*, wrote a long Letter to the Pope, to ſhew that *Rothade* had no Reaſon to complain of any Injuſtice done him; but, on the contrary, that they had treated him with more Lenity than he deſerved, and had acted agreeably to the Canons both in judging and condemning him. The only Charge brought againſt him by *Hincmar* in the Council, was his obſtinately refuſing to reſtore the Presbyter whom he had depoſed, notwithſtanding the expreſs Command of his Metropolitan, to whom he owed Obedience. But, in his Letter to the Pope, he charges him beſides with having alienated and ſquandered away the Revenues of his Church, with having diſpoſed of many rich Offerings made by his Predeceſſors, and others, for the Redemption of their Souls; with having pawned a golden Chalice enriched with precious Stones, without the Knowlege of the other Biſhops, of his Metropolitan, or even of the OEconomus, or Steward of the Church; and, laſtly, with having lived, in ſpite of repeated Admonitions, in a Manner unworthy of any Eccleſiaſtic, and much more of a Biſhop, to the great Scandal of the Flock committed to his Care. *Hincmar*, in the next place, proceeds to ſhew, that *Rothade* had acted contrary to the Canons in appealing, after his Condemnation, to the Pope, and not the Biſhops of the Council in rejecting his Appeal, and not ſuffering him to purſue it at *Rome*. But, to prove this, he takes it for granted, that *Rothade* had withdrawn his Appeal, and conſented to be judged by the Biſhops of the ſame Province; which he abſolutely denied, as has been obſerved above. As the Pope had, in all his Letters, reproached *Hincmar*, as well as the other Biſhops of the Council of *Soiſſons*, with a manifeſt Breach of the Canons, eſpecially of the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, in not permitting *Rothade* to go to *Rome* after his Appeal, and plead his Cauſe in

[x] Epiſt. 35. [y] Epiſt. 36. [z] Epiſt. 37.

Per-

Perſon at the Tribunal, to which he had appealed; *Hincmar*, in Anſwer to that Reproach, allows the Pope to have been impowered by the Council of *Sardica* to receive Appeals from the Judgment of the Metropolitans and provincial Synods; and that, by virtue of ſuch a Power, he may order the Cauſe to be judged anew. But he obſerves at the ſame time, and very juſtly, that this is not to be done at *Rome*, but in the Province; it being ordained by ſeveral Councils, and even by that of *Sardica* itſelf, that all Diſputes ſhould be determined in the Places where they aroſe; and that the Pope may therefore cauſe the Judgment to be renewed in the Province where it was given, and ſend, if he pleaſes, a Legate to aſſiſt at it in his Name; but is not authorized by the Council of *Sardica*, or any other Council, to ſummon the depoſed Biſhop, or thoſe who depoſed him, to *Rome*. He adds, that nevertheleſs, at the Deſire of his Holineſs, *Rothade* has been ſet at Liberty, and may undertake, when he pleaſes, his intended Journey to *Rome*; but that if the Pope ſhould reverſe the Sentence pronounced againſt him by his Metropolitan and the Biſhops of the Province, the Judgment of provincial as well as national Synods would, for the future, be quite diſregarded; that the greateſt Offenders, when condemned by them, would recur to *Rome* as to a ſafe Aſylum; and that, as for himſelf, he would never again take upon him to judge any other, but ſhould only admoniſh them, and, if they did not hearken to his Admonitions, refer them to the Judgment of the Apoſtolic See[a].

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He taxes him with acting contrary to the Canons.

As the Pope had, in all his Letters to *Hincmar* and the other Biſhops of the Council of *Soiſſons*, inſiſted on their ſending Deputies to *Rome*, to maintain the Judgment they had given, they yielded at laſt; and their Deputies ſet out accordingly, together with *Rothade*, and *Robert* Biſhop of *Mans*, who was charged with Letters from the King to the Pope, and probably with the Letter which I have juſt mentioned from *Hincmar*. But the Emperor refuſing to let them paſs through his Dominions, they ſtopt at *Beſançon*; and from thence the Biſhop of *Mans* and the Deputies, not diſpleaſed at the Diſappointment, wrote to the Pope to acquaint him with it, and then returned to *France*. But *Rothade*, pretending Sickneſs, ſtaid at *Beſançon*, till, by means of his Friends at the Courts of *Lotharius* and *Lewis* King of *Germany*, he obtained the Emperor's Permiſſion to purſue his Journey to *Rome*, where he arrived in the Month of

Rothade *goes to* Rome,

[a] Apud Flodoard. l. iii. c. 13. & Baron. ad ann. 865. n. 35.

June

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June 864. Some time after, Deputies arrived, ſent by *Hincmar* with the Letter mentioned above, and Two more from him to the Pope [b]. But as thoſe Deputies were not commiſſioned to accuſe or proſecute *Rothade*, and no-body elſe appeared againſt him, the Pope, after performing divine Service on *Chriſtmas-Eve* in the Church of St. *Mary the Greater*, went up into the Reading-desk; and having from thence related and explained the whole Affair of that Biſhop, as ſet forth by him in his Memorial, and obſerved in particular, that he never had withdrawn his Appeal to the Apoſtolic See, as was *falſly* and *maliciouſly* aſſerted by *Hincmar*, he declared him worthy of the Epiſcopal Ornaments, and ordered him to reſume them; which he did accordingly, with the Conſent and Approbation of the Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, who were preſent, and the whole Aſſembly, promiſing to anſwer his Accuſers when any ſhould appear againſt him [c]. Thus was *Rothade* reinſtated in his Dignity; but the Pope, waiting for his Accuſers, did not reſtore him to his See, nor allow him to perform any Epiſcopal Functions, till the 21ſt of *January*, the Feſtival of St. *Agnes*, when officiating in the Church of that Saint, he declared him, in a moſt ſolemn Manner, to have been unjuſtly depoſed, to appear innocent of the Charge brought againſt him, ſince none had attempted to make it good during the long Stay he had made at *Rome*, and conſequently to have never forfeited the Right he had to preſide in the See of *Soiſſons*. The Act of his Reſtoration was then publicly read; and he thereupon ſaid Maſs with great Solemnity in the neighbouring Church of St. *Conſtantia* [d].

and is reinſtated in his Dignity,

and reſtored to his See.

Year of Chriſt 865.

Arſenius *ſent into* France, *with the Character of* Legate a latere, *to determine the Affair of* Lotharius.

Soon after *Rothade* ſet out from *Rome* on his Return to *France*, accompanied by *Arſenius*, Biſhop of *Orta* in *Tuſcany*, a Man of a moſt haughty and imperious Temper, whom the Pope ſent with him to ſee him reinſtated in his See, and at the ſame time to determine the Affair of *Lotharius*. *Arſenius* was charged with Letters from the Pope to *Charles the Bald*, to *Hincmar*, and to the *Gallican* Biſhops; all tending to aſcertain the Right he claimed of receiving Appeals from national as well as provincial Synods; of obliging the Parties to plead their Cauſe at *Rome*; and of confirming or annulling the Judgment given in the Provinces, as it ſhould be found agreeable or repugnant to the Deciſions of the Councils, or the Decrees of the Apoſtolic See. But the only Proofs he alleged to maintain this pretended Right, were either taken from the Canons of Councils falſi-

Charged with ſeveral Letters.

[b] Apud Flodoard. l. xii. c. 14. [c] Anaſt. in Nicol. [d] Idem ibid.

fied or misunderstood, or from such Decretals as are now universally allowed to be spurious. However, *Nicholas* declared them all to be ancient, genuine, and of great Authority in the Church; and because the greater Causes, *causæ majores*, were said by *Gregory the Great* to belong to the First Bishop, or the Bishop of *Rome*, by *greater Causes*, he understood the Causes of Bishops; and from thence concluded, that they could be finally determined only at *Rome*. In his Letter to *Hincmar*, he acquaints him with the Judgment given in favour of *Rothade*, and commands him, by virtue of his Apostolic Authority, either to come in Person to accuse him, or to acquiesce in that Judgment, on Pain of being himself degraded, and for ever cut off from the Communion of the Catholic Church [e]. He tells the *Gallican* Bishops, in his Letter to them, that *Rothade* did not withdraw his Appeal, that he could not withdraw it, and consent to his being judged by them, all Appeals from a superior to an inferior Tribunal being in themselves void and null. He adds, that they are still free to make good, if they can, the Charge brought against him at the Tribunal to which he appealed; but insists on their first reinstating him in his See, and restoring him to his former Condition; which was requiring them to reverse their own Sentence. To this the *Gallican* Bishops would not agree; and therefore, unwilling to quarrel with the Pope, the rather as they apprehended that the King, who, at this Juncture, wanted his Assistance, would not support them, they suffered *Rothade* to take undisturbed Possession of his See (O).

Year of Christ 865.

The

[e] Nicol. ep. 41.

(O) From the Letters of *Hincmar*, and the whole Conduct of the *Gallican* Bishops on this Occasion, it appears, I. That they knew of no other Tribunal for the judging of Bishops but the Council of the Province. II. That they allowed of Appeals to the Apostolic See after, but not before, Judgment was given by the Bishops of the Province. III. That they acknowleged no Power in the Pope, when appealed to, of removing the Cause to *Rome*, but that only of ordering the Judgment to be renewed in the Province, and sending, if he pleased, Legates to assist at it in his Name. And truly no other Power was granted to the Pope by the Canons of *Sardica*; nay, by those Canons, the Pope was not impowered to re-examine the Cause upon an Appeal; but only to determine whether it should or should not be re-examined. If he found that it should, because it had not been sufficiently discussed, or the Judges had been influenced by Favour or Hatred; he was, in that case, to order the Judgment to be renewed in the Province, either by the same Bishops only, and his Legate or Legates, or by the Bishops of the neighbouring Province together with them. *Leo the Great* was the First who claimed a Power of summoning Bishops to *Rome*, and judging their Cause anew there (1). *Hincmar* and the *Gallican* Bishops were sensible,

(1) See Vol. II. p. 18. Note (C).

that,

Year of Christ 865.

Arſenius *repairs to the Courts of the* French *Princes,*

The Reſtoration of *Rothade* was not the only Commiſſion that the Legate *Arſenius* was charged with. As *Charles* King of *Provence*, Brother to the Emperor *Lewis*, and to *Lotharius* King of *Lorraine*, died at this time without Iſſue, and a War was thereupon likely to enſue about his Dominions, between the Two Brothers of the deceaſed Prince and the Two Uncles, *Lewis* King of *Germany*, and *Charles* King of *France*, the Pope interpoſed, at the Requeſt of the Emperor; and glad of an Opportunity to oblige him, as he wanted his Aſſiſtance againſt *Lotharius*, he ordered his Legate to repair to the Courts of *France* and *Germany*, and exert the whole Authority of his See in diverting thoſe Princes from any Attempts upon a Kingdom, to which the Emperor had, he ſaid, an hereditary and unqueſtionable Right. He wrote by *Arſenius* to both Princes, exhorting them to Peace and Concord; and likewiſe to the Biſhops of their reſpective Kingdoms, requiring them to promote, to the utmoſt of their Power, a friendly Correſpondence between the Two Kings and the Emperor, that the Emperor might not be obliged to turn againſt the Faithful the Sword, which he had received from the Vicar of the Prince of the Apoſtles to be employed againſt the Infidels (P), but might be allowed to govern, with Piety and Juſtice, the Kingdoms which had devolved to him by Inheritance, and he had been confirmed in by the ſovereign Pontiff placing the Crown on his Head. He cloſes his Letter with threatening to excommunicate, and exclude for ever from the Church, all the Enemies of his Son the Emperor, and all who ſhall preſume to make War upon him, or invade his Dominions [e].

with Letters in favour of the Emperor.

Is well received by the King of Germany.

With theſe Letters *Arſenius* repaired firſt to the Court of *Lewis* King of *Germany*, who was then at *Francfort*; and he not only received him with extraordinary Marks of Honour and Reſpect, but agreed, at his Requeſt, to meet the Two Kings *Charles* and *Lotha-*

[e] Nicol. ep. 25.

that, in this whole Affair, the Pope had acted contrary to the very Canons he quoted to authorize his Conduct. But loth to break with him, which, they apprehended, would be attended with no ſmall Diſturbances in the State, as well as the Church, they did not oppoſe the Reſtoration of the depoſed Biſhop, how arbitrary ſoever and uncanonical, the rather as the Perſon they had named to ſucceed him was dead; but contented themſelves with remonſtrating, in all their Letters, againſt it, as repugnant to the Canons, as tending to ſubvert all Diſcipline, and encourage Offenders to pay no ſort of Regard to the Judgment of the Metropolitans and provincial Synods.

(P) The Pope had crowned the Emperor; and he alludes here to that Ceremony.

rius

rius at *Cologne*, and there to renew, jointly with them, the Treaty of Peace, which they had concluded among themſelves and with the Emperor, before the Death of the King of *Provence* [g]. The Legate, at the ſame time, engaged the King to concur with him in perſuading his Nephew the King of *Lorraine* to diſmiſs *Waldrada*, and to be reconciled to his lawful Wife *Theutberga*. As it was chiefly to determine that Affair *Arſenius* had been ſent into *France*, and the Pope had veſted him for that Purpoſe with all his Power and Authority, from *Francfort* he purſued his Journey to *Lorraine*, where he was no leſs honourably received by *Lotharius* than he had been in *Germany* by *Lewis*. The King granted him a public Audience the Day after his Arrival, attended by moſt of the Biſhops and great Lords of the Kingdom, received him, as repreſenting the Vicar of St. *Peter*, with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction, and declared himſelf ready to comply in all Things with the Admonitions and Directions of the holy Pope *Nicholas*. In return for theſe Civilities, the haughty Legate abruptly told him, that he was ſent by the ſovereign Pontiff to remove the Scandal he had given by putting away his lawful Wife, and marrying a Proſtitute in her room; and that he muſt therefore conſent to diſmiſs the one, and take back the other, or he would that Inſtant pronounce the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him. The King was no leſs provoked than ſurpriſed at the Boldneſs of the Legate; but apprehending that, were he excommunicated, the Kings of *France* and *Germany* would lay hold of that Opportunity to invade his Dominions, he thought it adviſeable to yield. But the Legate, not ſatisfied with his promiſing to drive *Waldrada* from his Bed, obliged him to ſwear that he would never recal her; that he would break off all Correſpondence with her; that he would ever thenceforth treat *Theutberga* as his lawful Wife, and marry no other in her Life-time. The ſame Oath was taken, in the King's Name, at the Deſire of the Legate, by Twelve of the chief Counts of the Kingdom [h].

Year of Chriſt 865.

His inſolent and haughty Behaviour at the Court of Lorraine.

Arſenius, proud of the Succeſs of his Negotiations at the Court of *Lorraine*, proceeded from thence, purſuant to his Inſtructions, to that of *Charles* of *France*, to perſuade that Prince, as he had done *Lewis* of *Germany*, to renew the Treaty of Peace with the Emperor, as well as with the King of *Lorraine*: And his Negotiations were attended there with the ſame Succeſs as at the other Two Courts;

His Negotiations with Charles *of* France.

[g] Annal. Fuld. [h] Annal. Bertin. & Metenſ. ad ann, 865, 866. Nicol. ep. 58.

Year of Christ 865.

for *Charles* not only confirmed the Peace, but agreed to an Interview with his Nephew *Lotharius*, who had ſollicited the Legate to procure it, in order to ſettle ſome Points that might create a Miſunderſtanding between him and his Uncle, and eſtabliſh by that means a perfect Harmony between the Two Kingdoms. *Lotharius* no ſooner heard of the peaceable Diſpoſition of his Uncle, than he repaired to *Attigni*, where *Charles* then was; and there, by the Interpoſition of the Legate, Matters were ſettled in a very ſhort Time, to the intire Satisfaction of the Two Kings. As *Theutberga* had taken Refuge in the Kingdom of *Charles*, upon the Death of her Brother Count *Hubert*, with whom ſhe had lived in the Territories of the Emperor, *Arſenius* ſent privately for her before *Lotharius* left *Attigni*; and, in order to render the Reconciliation more authentic and ſolemn, preſented her to him when he leaſt expected it, in the Preſence of the King his Uncle, of all the great Lords of his Court, and of a great many Biſhops, whom he had aſſembled for that Purpoſe, telling him with an Air of Authority, that he preſented to him his lawful Wife, in the Name of the Prince of the Apoſtles, and the ſovereign Pontiff his Vicar; that if, unmindful of his Oath, he refuſed to take her back, if he ever parted with her again, or perſecuted her anew as he had hitherto done, in Defiance of the moſt ſacred Laws human and divine, he declared him excommunicated in this World, and eternally damned in the other. *Lotharius* was, as we may well imagine, highly provoked at the haughty and imperious Behaviour of the Legate; but, diſſembling the Indignation it raiſed in his Breaſt, as he knew that the King his Uncle, and the whole Court, favoured the Queen, he offered her his Hand with a chearful Countenance, declaring, that he was ready to comply in all Things with the Directions of the holy Pope *Nicholas* [i].

Obliges Lotharius *to take back* Theutberga.

Thunders Two Excommunications.

The Legate, having thus happily executed the chief Commiſſion he was charged with, publiſhed, before he left *Attigni*, a Letter from the Pope, fraught with moſt dreadful Curſes, ſuch, ſays the *Bertinian* Annaliſt, as had never before been heard in *France*, againſt certain Perſons, who had robbed the Legate of a conſiderable Sum of Money ſome Years before, if they did not reſtore it. At the ſame time he thundered out anew, in the Pope's Name, the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Ingeltrude* the Wife of Count *Boſo*; who, abandoning her Husband, as has been related above, had taken Re-

[i] Annal. Bertin. & Metenſ. ibid.

fuge, with her Adulterer, in the Kingdom of *Lorraine*. The Legate, availing himſelf of the great Regard ſhewn by *Charles* for the Apoſtolic See, demanded, and obtained of him, the Reſtitution of certain Lands that *Lewis the Debonnair* had formerly granted to St. *Peter*, and a Count, named *Wido*, had poſſeſſed for many Years [k]. On this Occaſion, *Arſenius* preſented *Rothade* to the King, and warmly recommended him, in the Name of his Holineſs, to his Protection and Favour; and he governed the Church of *Soiſſons* in Peace and Tranquillity to the Hour of his Death. Year of Chriſt 865.

From *Attigni* the Legate ſet out, in the Month of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year 865, with the King of *Lorraine* and Queen *Theutberga*, for *Gondreville*, a Royal Palace belonging to that Prince on the *Moſelle*. Upon their Arrival there, *Arſenius*, encouraged by the Succeſs that had hitherto attended him, and more by the Dread the King ſtood in of the Excommunication, with which he was threatened, inſiſted on his publicly repairing the Scandal he had publicly given by putting away his lawful Wife, and marrying another Woman in her room. To this too the King conſented, much againſt his Will; and on the 15th of *Auguſt*, the Feſtival of the Aſſumption of the Virgin *Mary* (R), the Legate ſaid Maſs with great Solemnity; and the King and Queen aſſiſted at it in their Royal Habits and their Crowns, attended by the Biſhops, and all the Grandees of the Kingdom [l]. Theutberga *reinſtated in her Dignity.*

[k] Idem ibid. [l] Ibid.

(R) The Aſſumption of the Virgin *Mary*, in Soul and Body, into Heaven, was never heard of till the Eighth Century, the Abbot *Authpertus*, who died in 778, being the Firſt who ſpoke of it, and uſed the Word *Aſſumption*: And from his Words it appears, that, in his Time, ſome believed that ſhe was aſſumed in her Body, and ſome that ſhe was aſſumed out of it, *ſive in corpore*, ſays he, *ſive extra corpus aſſumptam ſuper cœlos credamus* (1). However, that ſhe was aſſumed in Soul and Body into Heaven is now generally believed in the Church of *Rome*; and woe to the Man who ſhould aſſert the contrary in *Spain* or in *Italy*, tho' it has not the leaſt Foundation in the ſacred Writings, in thoſe of the Fathers of the firſt Eight Centuries, or in Hiſtory. The Reader will find in *Pellart*, who wrote in the Fifteenth Century, and dedicated his Book to Pope *Sixtus* IV. a very particular and curious Account of the Death of the Virgin *Mary*, at which aſſiſted all the Apoſtles, conveyed on white Clouds to her Houſe from the different Corners of the Earth; of her Reſurrection, and her Aſſumption into Heaven in Soul and Body. As ſhe was thus aſſumed, we have no Reliques of her beſides her Milk; but of that there is ſuch a Quantity, as ſufficiently ſupplies the Want of all other Reliques. As to the Paſſage in the Chronicle of *Euſebius*, and the Pieces aſcribed to St. *Auſtin*, to St. *Jerom*, and to *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, wherein mention is made of the Aſſumption, they are now univerſally allowed to be ſpurious.

(1) Vit. S. Ambroſ. Authpert. apud Mabil. ſect. iii. Benedict. part. ii.

Year of Christ 865.

The Legate sets out with Waldrada *on his Return to* Rome.

The Legate was not yet satisfied; but apprehending that the Presence of *Waldrada* would soon rekindle the King's Passion, and make him forget all his good Resolutions, he ordered her to attend him to *Rome*, to be there absolved by the Pope from the heinous Sin she was guilty of in living with the King as his Wife. *Waldrada*, awed by the Anathema with which the Legate threatened her, durst not disobey; and *Lotharius* had the Mortification to see her set out with the Legate on her Journey to *Rome*. *Arsenius* passed, in his Return to *Italy*, through *Germany* and *Bavaria*, to recover, by the Favour of King *Lewis*, some Patrimonies of St. *Peter* that lay in those Countries. He found the King at *Worms*; and there *Ingeltrude*, being driven by *Lotharius* from his Dominions, unexpectedly presented herself before him, in order to go with him to *Rome*, and there obtain of the Pope, by his Mediation, Absolution from the Excommunication he had twice thundered out against her. At *Worms* she took the following Oath, in the Presence of the Legate, and probably at his Request: "I *Ingeltrude*, Daughter of the late "Count *Mattefrid*, and Wife of Count *Boso*, swear to you Lord "*Arsenius* Bishop, Envoy, and *Apocrisarius* of the holy Catholic and "Apostolic See, and in you to my Lord *Nicholas*, sovereign Pontiff "and universal Pope; I swear, I say, by the Father, by the Son, by "the Holy Ghost, and by the Four holy Gospels, which I kiss with "my Mouth, and touch with my Hands, that I shall quit the wicked "Life I have led to the Disgrace of the above-mentioned *Boso* my "Husband; shall return, like a strayed Sheep, to the Fold of the "Catholic Church, upon such Terms as it shall please my Lord "*Nicholas*, sovereign Pontiff and universal Pope, to prescribe; shall "travel into *Italy*, either before you or with you, as you shall think "proper; and shall comply in all things with the Injunctions of "my Apostolic Lord [m]." *Arsenius* chose she should go with him, flattering himself that he should enter *Rome* in a kind of Triumph, being attended with Two such illustrious Penitents. But his Vanity was disappointed; *Ingeltrude* attended him no farther than the *Danube*; for her Heart failing her as they were upon the point of crossing that River, she forgot her Oath, and, under colour of visiting a Relation in that Neighbourhood, who, she said, would furnish her with Horses to pursue her Journey, she left the Legate, assuring him that she would meet him at *Augsburg*. But, instead of

Ingeltrude *joins them;*

but soon leaves them, and is excommunicated anew.

[m] Apud Baron. ad ann. 865. n. 63.

keeping

keeping her Appointment, ſhe returned to *France*; which *Arſenius* no ſooner knew, than he wrote to all the Biſhops of *France* and *Germany* to acquaint them with her Flight, notwithſtanding the Oath ſhe had taken, and require them, in the Name of St. *Peter*, and of the ſovereign Pontiff and univerſal Pope *Nicholas*, not to admit her into their Dioceſes, but to declare her excommunicated and anathematized for the Breach of her Oath, as well as for her other Crimes, till ſhe appeared in Perſon before the Pope, and was abſolved by his Holineſs himſelf [n]. What became of her afterwards we know not, no further mention being made of her in Hiſtory. Year of Chriſt 865.

As for *Waldrada* the other Penitent, ſhe purſued her Journey with the Legate as far as *Lombardy*. But when ſhe was there upon the point of ſetting out from *Pavia* in her Way to *Rome*, ſhe received a Letter from *Lotharius*, ordering her, as he could no longer bear her Abſence, to return with all Speed to his Dominions. Upon the Receipt of that Letter, which the Meſſenger privately delivered to her, purſuant to his Inſtructions, her good Reſolutions all vaniſhed in an Inſtant; and leaving the Legate abruptly, ſhe haſtened back to *Lorraine*. *Arſenius*, thus diſappointed of his expected Triumph, entered *Rome* alone, and gave an Account of the Whole to the Pope; who, no leſs provoked than he at the Behaviour of the Two pretended Penitents, immediately confirmed the Excommunication of *Ingeltrude*, and, on the Second of *February* 866, ſolemnly excommunicated *Waldrada*, and tranſmitted to all the Biſhops of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, the Sentence he had pronounced againſt her, ordering them to publiſh it in their reſpective Dioceſes. He tells the Biſhops in his Letter, that tho' *Lotharius* is no leſs guilty than *Waldrada*, yet he has not excommunicated him, for juſt Reaſons, which he is not obliged to communicate to them, the Apoſtolic See, that is truſted with the Care of all Churches, being accountable to none for its Conduct [o]. Waldrada *recalled by* Lotharius, *and excommunicated by the Pope.*

Lotharius, hearing of the Excommunication of *Waldrada*, and apprehending that the Pope might be brought at laſt, by his Enemies and the Queen's Friends, to pronounce the ſame Sentence againſt him, got *Adventius* Biſhop of *Metz* to write to his Holineſs in his favour; and the Letter the aged Biſhop wrote, plainly ſhews him to have been as ſimple a Man as any of his Time, or as great a Sycophant; for, in that Letter, he aſſured the Pope, that the King had Adventius *writes to the Pope in favour of* Lotharius.

[n] Ibid. [o] Nicol. ep. 49.

Year of Christ 866.

had no Intercourse or Correspondence with *Waldrada* since the Departure of *Arsenius*; that he earnestly and constantly exhorted her to comply with the Injunctions of his Holiness; that he treated *Theutberga* in every respect as his lawful Wife; that he assisted with her at divine Service, admitted her, as he ought, to his Table and his Bed, and shewed, on all Occasions, an intire Submission to the Authority of the Apostolic See [p]. The Direction of this Letter was, *To the most holy, most blessed and angelic Lord* Nicholas, *sovereign Pontiff, and universal Pope.* *Lotharius* himself wrote, and sent by the Chancellor *Grimlandus*, a very submissive Letter to the Pope, more submissive than was consistent with his Dignity; for, in that Letter, *prostrate at his Holiness's Feet*, he professes an unreserved Obedience to the Orders of the Apostolic See; humbly beseeches the Pope not to raise his Equals above him (meaning, as appears from the Context, not to excommunicate him, which would afford his Uncles a Pretence to invade his Dominions); and declares, that he will be subject to none but to God, to St. *Peter*, and to his holy Lord and Father Pope *Nicholas*. As for *Waldrada*, he solemnly protests that he has never been in her Company, nor so much as seen her, since the Departure of *Arsenius*, and her Return from *Italy*; and gives the Lye to any who shall say that he has [q].

Lotharius *writes to him at the same time.*

Lotharius flattered himself that he should thus impose upon the Pope. But *Nicholas* was, in the mean time, informed by several Persons worthy of Credit, that the King met *Waldrada* in private; that he persecuted the Queen more cruelly than he had ever yet done; and that, blinded by his Passion, he seemed determined to remove her out of the Way by some Means or other, and make room for *Waldrada*, pretending that she, and not *Theutberga*, was his lawful Wife. Hereupon the Queen, apprehending her Life to be in Danger, wrote to the Pope to acquaint him therewith, and at the same time to beg Leave, as she saw no End of her Troubles, to resign her Dignity; to yield her Place to *Waldrada*; and spend the rest of her Days in Retirement. To induce the Pope to comply with her Request, she even pretended in her Letter, that the King had married *Waldrada* before he married her; and consequently that he could not live with her as his lawful Wife, nor she with him as her lawful Husband. But the Pope well knew, that it was only to gratify the

The Queen writes to the Pope for Leave to resign her Dignity,

[p] Apud Baron. ad ann. 866. n. 31, & seq. & seq.

[q] Apud Baron. ad ann. 866. n. 38,

King,

King, and purchaſe ſome Reſpite from her Troubles, that ſhe wrote thus, and turned Evidence againſt herſelf: He therefore told her, in his Anſwer to her Letter, that he did not receive her Confeſſion, having been aſſured by ſeveral Perſons no leſs eminent for their Rank than their Piety, that it was not voluntary, but extorted by Menaces; reproached her with want of Courage in thus yielding to her adverſe Fortune, in betraying her own Cauſe, and owning herſelf guilty when ſhe was conſcious of her Innocence; exhorted her to ſpeak the Truth at all Events, ſince ſhe had better ſuffer Death by the Hand of another for ſpeaking it, than kill her own Soul by departing from it. He added, that were he to admit her Confeſſion, and declare her Marriage null, every Husband, who diſliked his Wife, would be thereby encouraged to uſe her ill, in order to extort from her by that means the like Confeſſion; that ſhould he even grant her leave to quit *Lotharius*, their Marriage would not therefore be diſſolved, nor could the King marry *Waldrada*, or any other Woman, in her Life-time; and that ſhe muſt not think of living in a married State as if ſhe were not married, unleſs the King ſolemnly promiſed to live ſo too. The Queen had begged the Pope's Leave to come to *Rome*, and unburden her Mind in Perſon to his Holineſs. But he, not thinking it proper that ſhe ſhould be at ſuch a Diſtance from the King while *Waldrada* was ſo near him, would not allow her to undertake that Journey, unleſs the King ſent *Waldrada* to *Rome* before her [r]. This Letter is dated the 24th of *January* 867. *which he refuſes.* Year of Chriſt 867.

The Pope wrote at the ſame time to *Charles* of *France*, to the Biſhops of *Lotharius*'s Kingdom, and to *Lotharius* himſelf. In his Letter to *Charles*, he commends him for his Generoſity in taking the perſecuted Queen into his Protection, and exhorts him to continue to her the ſame Protection, till it ſhall pleaſe God to put an End to ſo cruel and ſo unjuſt a Perſecution [s]. He reproaches the Biſhops, in his Letter to them, with an unpardonable Neglect of their Duty in not ſeconding him in his Endeavours to reclaim their King from his Wickedneſs; aſſures them, that he did not grant *Waldrada* Leave to return to *France*, as was, it ſeems, reported; declares her excommunicated for the Third time; and threatens to pronounce the ſame Sentence againſt them as Abettors of Adultery, if they continued to connive, as they have hitherto done, at the Scandal which it was *The Pope writes to* Charles *of* France, *to* Lotharius, *and the Biſhops of his Kingdom.*

[r] Nicol. ep. 48. [s] Idem, ep. 50 Annal. Bertin.

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their indiſpenſible Duty to remove [t] (S). From the Pope's Letter to *Lotharius* it appears, that the King laid great Streſs on the Confeſſion of the Queen owning that *Waldrada* was his Firſt, and conſequently his only lawful Wife. But, in Anſwer to that, the Pope tells him in his Letter, that all *France* knew *Theutberga* was his Firſt and only lawful Wife; and that the Confeſſion ſhe had made was not voluntary, but extorted by Force and by Menaces; entreats him to lay aſide all Thoughts of putting her away, and marrying any other in her room, ſince the Apoſtolic See, he might depend upon it, never would conſent to the one or the other; expreſſes great Concern at the King's attempting thus to impoſe upon him, and, in the end, threatens him with Excommunication, if he did not break off all Correſpondence with *Waldrada* as an excommunicated Perſon, and repair the Scandal he had given [u].

Adventius's *Letter to* Hatto *of* Verdun.

Adventius of *Metz*, hearing that the Pope had threatened the King with Excommunication, and being at the ſame time informed, that it was the fixed and unalterable Reſolution of the Apoſtolic Lord *Nicholas* to exclude him from entering into the Church, if he did not diſmiſs *Waldrada* by the Eve of the Purification, wrote, under the greateſt Concern, to *Hatto* of *Verdun*, his intimate Friend, earneſtly entreating him to repair without Delay to the King, to appriſe him of his Danger, and perſuade him to ask Pardon for his paſt Offences, in the Preſence of at leaſt Three Biſhops, with a firm Reſolution and Promiſe to mend his Life in time to come, that, being thus abſolved, he might enter the Church, and celebrate the Feſtival, without expoſing, as he otherwiſe would, himſelf and his Kingdom, as well as them, to irretrievable Ruin. He deſires his Brother *Hatto* to tell the King, that as for his Sin againſt God, or his public Adultery, he has no Occaſion to make himſelf uneaſy about it, God having promiſed by his Prophet to forgive the Sinner the Moment he repents of his Sin. The good Biſhop ſeems to have thought it Matter of more Importance to obtain of the Pope than of God Forgiveneſs of his Sin. He tells his Brother, that he has thus written

[t] Idem, ep. 49. [u] Idem, ep. 51.

(S) What Opinion muſt we entertain of the Biſhops of *Lotharius*'s Kingdom, among whom not one was found, who had Courage or Zeal enough to ſay unto the King, with the Words of the Baptiſt, *It is not lawful for thee to have her*; nay, not one who did not proſtitute his ſacred Character to his lawleſs Luſt, and countenance him in a Crime that gave ſuch Offence to the honeſt Laity, eſpecially to the Princes of the Royal Family.

to

to him *ſub ſigillo confeſſionis*, under the Seal of Confeſſion; and therefore conjures him to ſhew his Letter to none but the King, and to ſuggeſt ſuch Counſels to him, as may reſcue from imminent Ruin both him and them [u]. *Adventius* apprehended, that, if the King was excommunicated, his Uncles would be thereby encouraged to invade his Dominions, which would involve the whole Kingdom in the utmoſt Confuſion, and end, in all Likelihood, in his Ruin. Year of Chriſt 867.

The Pope, however, did not think it adviſeable to proceed to ſuch Extremities, the rather as a perfect Harmony ſubſiſted between the Emperor *Lewis* and *Lotharius*, tho' *Lewis* was no leſs offended than his Uncles at the Conduct of his Brother in the Affair of *Theutberga* and *Waldrada*, and had frequently preſſed him to diſmiſs the one, and be reconciled to the other. *Nicholas*, therefore, unwilling to diſoblige the Emperor, contented himſelf with writing moſt preſſing Letters to the Two Kings *Lewis* and *Charles*, entreating them to interpoſe their good Offices anew with the King of *Lorraine*, to employ ſuch Means to reclaim him, as ſhould appear to them the moſt effectual, and in particular to aſſure him in his Name, that what Declarations ſoever he might force from *Theutberga*, he would ever oppoſe, with all the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, his marrying any other [w]. *What reſtrained the Pope from excommunicating* Lotharius.

Upon the Receipt of theſe Letters, the Two Kings had an Interview, the Reſult of which was, that *Charles* ſhould go and communicate them in Perſon to the King of *Lorraine*; that he ſhould repreſent to him, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, the Obligation he was under of removing the Scandal his Treatment of *Theutberga* had given to all good Men, and entreat him, in the Name of both, to ſatisfy the Pope, ſince he could entertain no Hopes of ever prevailing upon his Holineſs to approve of, or even to connive at, a Conduct which he had ſo often and ſo loudly condemned. *Charles* and *Lotharius* met, by Appointment, on the Borders of their reſpective Kingdoms, the former being attended on that Occaſion by a Biſhop. But their Meeting had not the wiſhed-for Succeſs; *Lotharius* chiefly inſiſted on the Declaration of the Queen, which he maintained not to have been forced, as had been repreſented by his Enemies to the Pope, but quite free and voluntary, as ſhe, who ought to be credited before them, had publicly owned; complained as much of the unworthy Treatment he had met with from the Pope, as the Pope complained Lewis *of* Germany *and* Charles *of* France *endeavour to reclaim* Lotharius.

[u] Apud Baron. ad ann. 867. n. 121. [w] Nicol. ep. 53.

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of the Treatment *Theutberga* had met with from him; protested, that, to gratify his Holiness, he had never suffered *Waldrada* to approach the Court; that he had never seen her since her Return from *Italy*. He added, that his Enemies made it their Business to sow the Seeds of Discord between him and the other Princes of the Royal Family; that they had misrepresented the whole Affair both to them and the Pope: But that he was determined to go to *Rome*, and treat with his Holiness in Person, not doubting but he should be able to undeceive him, and confound his Enemies [x]. With this his Intention he acquainted the Pope by a most submissive Letter, entreating him, in the mean time, not to hearken to the Suggestions of those, who strove to estrange his Holiness from him, and raise by that means Disturbances in his Kingdom. As a numerous Body of *Saracens* had lately landed in *Italy*, and committed dreadful Ravages there, he offered, in the same Letter, to join his Forces to those of the Emperor against the common Enemy, to head them in Person, and defend, if necessary, even at the Expence of his Life, the Patrimonies of St. *Peter* [y]. But the Pope well knew, that he wrote thus only to amuse him; that he still continued to correspond privately with *Waldrada* excommunicated as she was; that she governed with an absolute Sway both him and his Kingdom, while *Theutberga* had but the empty Title and bare Name of Queen. He therefore desired the Two Kings, in his Answer to their Letter, to divert by all means the King of *Lorraine* their Nephew from his intended Journey to *Rome*, till he had given such Proofs of the Sincerity of his Reformation, as left no room to question it, lest he should not meet with the Reception he expected [z]. The Proofs required by the Pope were, that he should not only break off all Correspondence with *Waldrada*, but send her to *Rome*; that he should treat *Theutberga* so as to satisfy all *France* that he looked upon her as his lawful Wife; and that, to leave no Hopes to *Gunthier* and *Theutgaud*, who had countenanced him in his Adultery, of being ever restored, he should cause others to be chosen for the still vacant Sees of *Treves* and *Cologne* in their room (L). These Terms seemed too hard to

Who writes most submissive Letters to the Pope;

[x] Idem, ep. 55. [y] Apud Baron. ad ann. 867. n. 123, & seq. [z] Nicol. ep. 53.

(L) *Hugh*, nearly related to *Charles* of *France*, had been nominated by *Lotharius* for the See of *Cologne*, as has been said above; but that Nomination did not, it seems, take place. Indeed the Sword and the Helmet better became the Abbot *Hugh*, as he is commonly stiled, than the Crosier and the Mitre.

Lotha-

Lotharius; and therefore, laying aſide all Thoughts of his Journey to *Rome*, he continued, during the ſhort Time Pope *Nicholas* lived, to ward off, with moſt ſubmiſſive and reſpectful Letters and Proteſtations, the Sentence of Excommunication with which he was threatened. What was the Iſſue of this Affair, we ſhall ſee in the Pontificate of the ſucceeding Pope.

Year of Chriſt 867. *and thus wards off the Sentence with which he was threatened.*

From the great Pains the Pope took in the Affair of *Lotharius*, and the numberleſs Letters he wrote relating to it, one would conclude that it had engroſſed his whole Attention; but he had at the ſame time many other Matters on his Hands that required no leſs Attention, Reſolution, and Addreſs; and among the reſt, what he moſt of all laboured to bring about, as it would moſt of all redound to the Honour of his See, the Reſtoration of the Patriarch *Ignatius*. *Nicholas* had, as we have ſeen [a], in a Council held at *Rome* in 863, ſolemnly excommunicated *Photius* as an Uſurper, with all his Adherents, and declared *Ignatius* to have never been depoſed, but only driven with Violence and unjuſtly from the Patriarchal See. With this Sentence the Pope deſigned to acquaint the Emperor *Michael*, and had already written a Letter giving him an Account of the Proceedings of that Council. But, in the mean time, the Emperor was by others informed of the Whole; and, before the Legates ſet out for *Conſtantinople* with the Pope's Letter to him, *Michael* the Protoſpatharius arrived at *Rome* with one from him to the Pope, fraught with Invectives, Reproaches, and Menaces. The Pope happened to be greatly indiſpoſed when he received the Emperor's Letter; and the Protoſpatharius, impatient to return as the Winter approached, left *Rome*, without taking Leave, ſoon after he delivered it, inſomuch that the Pope was obliged, ill as he was, to write his Anſwer in great Haſte, and ſend it after him to *Oſtia*. The Emperor's Letter has not been ſuffered to reach our Times; but what it chiefly turned upon we learn from the very long Letter the Pope wrote in Anſwer to it, notwithſtanding his Illneſs, and the Hurry in which he wrote it. He begins it with an Addreſs to Heaven, beſeeching the Almighty, in whoſe Hand is the King's Heart, to ſuggeſt to him what may make an Impreſſion on the Mind of the Emperor, and at the ſame time to diſpoſe his Mind to receive that Impreſſion, and profit by it. He then proceeds to anſwer, one by one, the various Articles, or, as he ſtiles them, Blaſphemies againſt God

The Emperor Michael *writes to the Pope concerning the Affair of* Photius.

The Pope's Anſwer to his Letter.

[a] See above, p. 291.

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and St. *Peter*, contained in his Letter. *Michael* had, it seems, complained of the Treatment he had met with from the Apostolic See, tho' no Emperor, since the Time of the Sixth General Council had, as he pretended, honoured and respected those who sat in it, however worthless, more than he. In Answer to that Complaint, the Pope tells him, that it is quite groundless; that he has on no Occasion used him ill, but only admonished and rebuked him for the Welfare of his Soul, which it was incumbent upon him to do, as well as upon every other Bishop; and that, as to the Respect and Regard he had shewn for the Apostolic See, some of his Predecessors, even since the Sixth Council, had not been wanting therein no more than he; but that most of them were Heretics, with whom the holy See could not communicate, nor have any Intercourse. The Emperor, alluding to one of his former Letters to the Pope, had said, *we commanded you*, &c. That Word was grating to the Ears of the haughty Pope *Nicholas*; and, in his Answer, he pretends the Words *we pray*, *we entreat*, *we exhort*, to have been used by other Emperors in writing to the Popes, and by none of them the imperious Expression *we command* (S); nay, he maintains the Words *we beg and conjure*, and not *we command*, to have been made use of by *Michael* himself in the very Letter he quotes; and concludes, that he either does not know what he wrote, or repents of his laudable Submission and Humility. The Emperor had called the *Latin* Tongue a barbarous and *Scythic* Language; which the Pope highly resented, gravely reproaching him with having reviled, in the Height of his Fury, a Language instituted by God, and made use of in the Inscription on the Cross. He adds, that if he despises, because he does not understand the *Latin* Tongue, it is quite absurd and ridiculous that he should be stiled Emperor of the *Romans*, who is utterly ignorant of the Language of the *Romans*; that the Language he takes the Liberty to brand with the Epithets of barbarous and *Scythic*, is used in divine Service by the whole *Latin* Church, nay, and by the *Greek* Church too, the Epistles and Gospels being read in *Latin* in the Stations at *Constantinople* (T), before they are read in *Greek*. The

(S) *Baronius* himself owns the Words *we command* to have been used by the Emperor *Mauritius* in writing to the Pope; and ascribes all the Misfortunes that befel him, and his unhappy End, to his having used it (2).

(T) By *Stations* are meant the Assemblies of the Faithful on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*;

(2) Baron. ad. ann. 865. n. 83.

The Emperor had ſaid, that it was not to judge *Ignatius* anew, but to determine the Diſpute about Images, that he had commanded the Pope to ſend Legates to *Conſtantinople*. *Nicholas* anſwers, that the Event proves the contrary; that *Ignatius* was actually judged anew in the Preſence of his Legates; and that it was for that Purpoſe, but under colour of the Diſpute about Images, that he was deſired to ſend them to *Conſtantinople*. He enlarges here on the unjuſt and irregular Proceedings of the Council that condemned *Ignatius*; declares, that his Legates acted contrary to their Inſtructions in conſenting to his Condemnation; and maintains, that there is ſcarce an Inſtance of a Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* being depoſed, unleſs by Heretics or Tyrants, without the Knowlege, the Approbation, and the Concurrence of the *Roman* Pontiff. In Anſwer to what the Emperor had advanced againſt the Pre-eminence, Primacy, and Privileges of the *Roman* See, the Pope tells him, that thoſe Privileges have not been granted by the Councils, but by Chriſt himſelf to St. *Peter*, and in him to his Succeſſors in the *Roman* See; that the Councils have only acknowleged and revered them (U); that they are perpetual, immutable, and will remain, in ſpite of all human Efforts, ſo long as the Chriſtian Name ſhall be preached in the World. The Emperor wanted the Pope to ſend back to *Conſtantinople* the Monk *Theognoſtus*, and other Monks Friends to the depoſed Patriarch, who had taken Refuge at *Rome*. But the Pope, after ſhewing the Unreaſonableneſs of ſuch a Demand, aſſures the Emperor, that he has no Cauſe to complain of *Theognoſtus*, nor of the other Monks, who have told him nothing but what he had heard before from many others come from *Alexandria*, from *Jeruſalem*, from *Conſtantinople*, &c. nay, and from his own Embaſſadors, and what all the World knew to be true. As to the Emperor's Menaces, for he had threat-

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Fridays; for theſe Two Days were particularly ſanctified from the earlieſt Times; *Wedneſday*, becauſe on that Day the *Jews* conſpired to put our Saviour to Death; and *Friday*, becauſe he ſuffered on that Day (3). On both Days the Service began early, and did not end till Three in the Afternoon; and from the Length of the Service thoſe Aſſemblies were called *Stations*, and the Days, on which they were held, *ſtationary Days*.

(U) That no Privileges were granted to St. *Peter*, but what were common to the other Apoſtles with him; that all Biſhops were originally alike abſolute and independent in their own Churches; and that the Privileges, Prerogatives, and Pre-eminence, which, in After-ages, ſome Biſhops enjoyed over others, were granted to them by the Councils, or were a free Gift of the Emperors; has been ſhewn in many Places of this Hiſtory (4).

(3) Tertul. de jejun. c. 14. Orig. hom. 10. in Levit. Petr. Alexandrin. can. 15, &c. (4) See Vol. II. p. 79, 80, 81, 82. 87. & alibi paſſim.

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ened the City of *Rome* with utter Deſtruction, if the Sentence againſt *Photius* was not revoked; the Pope bids him Defiance, telling him, that the Angels watch over the Safety of *Rome*, and putting him in mind of *Sennacherib* and his numerous Army. As the *Saracens* had lately invaded *Crete*, had ravaged *Sicily*, had made themſelves Maſters of ſeveral Provinces belonging to the *Greeks*, and even ſet fire to the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*; the Pope takes Occaſion from thence to reproach the Emperor with Injuſtice and Cowardice, in tamely ſuffering himſelf to be thus inſulted by the Enemies of the Chriſtian Name, and threatening to wreak his Vengeance upon him and the unarmed *Romans*, who have done him no Injury. This, ſays the Pope, is acting like the *Jews*, who diſcharged the Murderer, and condemned the Author of Life, releaſed *Barabbas*, and put *Jeſus* to Death.

The Pope propoſes the ſending of Ignatius *and* Photius *to* Rome.

The Pope, having thus anſwered the chief Heads of the Emperor's Letter, comes to the Caſe of *Ignatius*, which, though already fully examined, and even determined by the unbiaſſed Judgment of the Apoſtolic See, he declares himſelf willing to examine anew, and has the Aſſurance to deſire the Emperor to ſend for that Purpoſe both *Ignatius* and *Photius* to *Rome*, and, together with them, the Biſhops who adhered to the one and the other. In the Cloſe of his Letter, he exhorts the Emperor to tread in the Footſteps of his pious Predeceſſors *Conſtantine*, *Conſtans*, *Theodoſius* the elder, *Valentinian*, &c. who made it their Study to exalt, honour, and enrich the *Roman* Church, and have thereby acquired immortal Fame; declares, that, as he has been truſted with the Care of all Churches, he will not neglect that of *Conſtantinople*; that he never will ſuffer the Patriarchal See of the Imperial City to be polluted by an Uſurper; that no Menaces ſhall ever deter him from complying with his Duty; and that he is determined to ſtand up, to his laſt Breath, in Defence of Truth and injured Innocence. To this Letter he adds the following Poſtſcript: "Whoever ſhall read this our Letter at *Conſtantinople*, "and conceal any Part of it from our moſt auguſt Son *Michael*, let "him be anathema: Whoever, in tranſlating the ſaid Letter, ſhall "alter any thing in it, ſhall add to it, or take any thing from it beſides "what the *Greek* Idiom requires, unleſs it be done through Igno-"rance, let him be anathema [b]."

[b] Nicol. ep. 8.

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This Letter the Pope conſigned to the Protoſpatharius returning to *Conſtantinople*; but apprehending that it might be either intirely ſuppreſſed or falſified, as had happened to moſt of his Letters, by the Friends of *Photius*, he reſolved, with the Advice of the neighbouring Biſhops, to write another and ſend it by Legates, who ſhould deliver it into the Emperor's own Hands. For that dangerous Legation *Nicholas* choſe *Donatus* Biſhop of *Oſtia*, *Leo* Presbyter, and *Marinus* Deacon of the *Roman* Church; and by them he wrote not only to the Emperor, but to the Biſhops and Clergy ſubject to the See of *Conſtantinople*, to *Photius*, to *Bardas* (X), to *Ignatius*, to the Empreſſes *Theodora* and *Eudoxia*, the one the Mother, the other the Wife of the Emperor, and to ſuch of the Senate as befriended *Ignatius* [c]. Theſe Eight Letters bear all the ſame Date, the 13th of *November* 866. The Pope, in his Letter to the Emperor, warmly recommends the Legates to his Protection, as repreſenting the Vicar of St. *Peter*, and in him St. *Peter* himſelf; maintains the Ordination of *Photius* by *Gregory* of *Syracuſe*, who had been depoſed, and was no longer a Biſhop, to be null; puts him in mind of the Account he was to give on the laſt Day for ſupporting an Uſurper on the Epiſcopal Throne, who has no Power to perform any Epiſcopal Functions; declares his unalterable Reſolution of acknowleging *Ignatius* for lawful Patriarch, till the Apoſtolic See ſhall judge, condemn, and depoſe him; exhorts the Emperor to diſown the blaſphemous Letter he ſent him by his Embaſſador *Michael*, and order it to be publicly burnt, otherwiſe he will excommunicate the Authors of it in a Council of all the Biſhops of the Weſt, and cauſe the Letter itſelf, as he cannot put up ſo groſs an Affront offered to the Pontifical Dignity, to be fixed to a Stake, and thus burnt, to his Shame and Diſgrace, in Sight of the different Nations that flock from all

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He ſends Legates into the Eaſt with ſeveral Letters.

[c] Nicol. ep. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

(X) *Bardas* was murdered by Order of the Emperor *Michael*, grown jealous of his Power, on the 21ſt of *April* of the preſent Year, as *Porphyrogennetus* informs us (4). But the News of his Death had not reached *Rome* in the Month of *November*, when the Pope wrote to him. The Death of *Bardas* made room for *Baſilius*, the chief Author of it, and at that time great Chamberlain; for as *Michael* had an utter Averſion to all manner of Buſineſs, and ſpent his whole Time in Sports and Banquets, he immediately committed the Management of public Affairs to *Baſilius*; and ſoon after, that is, on the Feſtival of *Whitſuntide*, which, in 866, fell on the 26th of *May*, declared him his Partner in the Empire (5).

(4) Porphyrogen. n. 41. (5) Idem, n. 42.

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Parts of the World to the Tomb of St. *Peter*. The Pope, in his Letter to the Bishops under the See of *Constantinople*, and the Clergy of that City, acquaints them with the whole Proceedings of the Council of *Rome* in the Affair of *Ignatius* and *Photius*, and loudly complains of the Practice of raising Laymen to the Episcopal Dignity, a Practice, he says, countenanced by Princes, as Laymen are more apt to connive at their wicked Lives than those who are brought up in the Discipline and Service of the Church. He reproaches *Photius*, in his Letter to him, with his numerous Prevarications, which he enumerates, and exhorts him to atone for by a sincere and timely Repentance. He tells *Bardas*, that he is said to have been the chief Author of the Expulsion of *Ignatius*, and of all the Evils attending it; expresses great Concern at his not answering the good Opinion he had entertained of him; and exhorts him to repair the Mischief he has done by espousing the Cause of the lawful Patriarch, and withdrawing his Protection from the Usurper of his See. Happy *Bardas*, says here *Baronius*, had he hearkened to the fatherly Exhortation of the Pope; but he disregarded it, and *therefore* Vengeance from Heaven soon overtook him [d]. But the Murder of *Bardas*, the Vengeance from Heaven which the Annalist here speaks of, happened, as we have seen, near Seven Months before the Pope wrote his exhortatory Letter. The Pope, in his Letter to *Ignatius*, acquaints him with what he has done in his favour; assures him that he never will forsake him; and encourages him to bear his Sufferings with the same Patience and Resignation as he has hitherto done, till it shall please God to relieve him. He comforts the Empress *Theodora* confined, as has been said, to a Monastery, telling her, that the Time is come when *Children shall rise up against their Parents*; but that, by patiently bearing the Loss of a temporal Kingdom, she will earn an eternal one; recommends his Legates to the Empress *Eudoxia*; and repeats, in his Letter to the Friends of *Ignatius* in the Senate, what he wrote to the Bishops and the Clergy subject to the See of *Constantinople*.

The Legates not admitted.

With these Letters the Three above-mentioned Legates set out for *Constantinople*; but as they travelled by Land, in Company with Two other Legates sent at the same time into *Bulgaria* (of which Legation I shall speak in the Sequel) they no sooner entered the Territories of the Empire bordering upon that Country, than *Theodore*,

[d] Baron. ad ann. 866. n. 14.

who

who guarded thoſe Frontiers, meeting them, and ſtriking the Heads of their Horſes, an Affront which the Bibliothecarian cannot digeſt, told them, that *the Emperor did not want them*, and they might therefore return home. However, they did not return till they were informed, and they waited Forty Days for that Purpoſe, that they were ſtopt by the Emperor's Order. Indeed it happened fortunately for them that they paſſed through *Bulgaria*; for the Emperor told the King of *Bulgaria*'s Embaſſadors, that, if they had not come through their Country, they ſhould never have ſeen him, nor *Rome* again ſo long as they lived [e]. Such was the Iſſue of this Second Legation; and thus was all Intercourſe now broken off between *Conſtantinople* and *Rome*. Year of Chriſt 867.

In the mean time *Photius*, now determined to keep no Meaſures with the Pope, propoſed to the Emperor *Michael* the aſſembling a Council at *Conſtantinople*, in order to judge, depoſe, and excommunicate *Nicholas* with the ſame Solemnity as he had judged, depoſed, and excommunicated him in a Council at *Rome*. To this Propoſal the Emperor readily agreed; and a Council accordingly met by his Order, conſiſting of ſeveral Biſhops under the immediate Juriſdiction of the See of *Conſtantinople*, and ſome obſcure Perſons, who called themſelves the Legates of the Three other great Sees, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jeruſalem*. Before this Aſſembly Accuſers appeared, who arraigning Pope *Nicholas* of many Crimes, and deploring his Wickedneſs, applied to the holy œcumenical Council for Juſtice. Witneſſes were likewiſe produced to atteſt what the Accuſers had laid to his Charge. But *Photius*, pretending to take the Pope's Part, urged in his favour, that no Man ought to be judged while he is abſent. But his Reaſons being anſwered, as was agreed before-hand, by the Biſhops of his Party, the Pope was judged, was found guilty of innumerable Crimes, was ſolemnly depoſed as altogether unworthy of the Epiſcopal Dignity, and excommunicated, with all who ſhould communicate with him. The Acts of this Council were ſigned by a very ſmall Number of Biſhops, and the pretended Legates of the Three above-mentioned Sees; but to their Signatures *Photius* added thoſe of both Emperors, *Michael* and *Baſilius*, of the whole Senate, of a great many Biſhops who had never heard of that Council, of almoſt all the Abbots in the Eaſt, and of a vaſt Number of Eccleſiaſtics of all Ranks and Degrees, in order to ſend the Acts

Photius *excommunicates and depoſes the Pope in a Council.*

[e] Anaſt. in Nicol.

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thus ſigned to the Pope [f]. In the ſame Acts he cauſed Acclamations to be inſerted in Honour of the Emperor *Lewis* and his Wife *Ingelberga*; and in thoſe Acclamations he gave the Title of Emperor to *Lewis*, and to *Ingelberga* that of Empreſs, and of a Second *Pulcheria*, flattering himſelf, that, by diſtinguiſhing them with thoſe Titles, he ſhould bias them in his favour, as the *Greeks* had hitherto looked upon the Emperors of the Weſt only as Kings, and given them no other Title.

Photius *charges the* Roman *Church with erroneous Doctrines and Practices condemned by the Canons.*

Photius, not ſatisfied with thus condemning, excommunicating, and depoſing the Pope, wrote a circulatory Letter to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the other Patriarchs and Biſhops of the Eaſt, charging the *Roman* Church with ſeveral erroneous Doctrines, and various Practices countenanced by the Popes, but repugnant to the Decrees and the Canons of the Church univerſal. Theſe are, I. At *Rome* they faſt on *Saturdays*, by a manifeſt Breach of the Sixty-fourth Canon of the Apoſtles, depoſing ſuch Clerks as ſhould faſt on *Saturdays*, except the *Saturday* before *Eaſter-day*, or on *Sundays*, and excommunicating Laymen; and likewiſe of the Fifty-fifth Canon of the Sixth œcumenical Council, cenſuring the *Roman* Church for faſting on *Saturdays*, and ordering them to correct that Practice (Y). II. They

[f] Metrophan. in liter. ad Michael. Patric. Auct. lib. de Synod. Sinod. 150.

(Y) The Words of the Canon are; *Whereas we underſtand, that, in the City of* Rome, *the* Sabbath *in* Lent *is kept as a Faſt, contrary to the Rule and Cuſtom of the Church; it ſeemed good to the holy Synod, that in the* Roman *Church alſo the ancient Canon ſhould be revived and enforced, which ſays, If any Clergyman be found to faſt on the* Lord's Day, *or on the* Sabbath, *one only excepted* (the *Saturday* before *Eaſter-day*) *let him be depoſed; if a Layman, let him be excommunicated. Saturday*, or the *Sabbath*, was obſerved from the earlieſt Times, by all the Eaſtern Churches, as a Feſtival, with the ſame religious Ceremonies as *Sunday*, or the *Lord's Day*. There was only this Difference between theſe Two great Feſtivals of the Week, as they were called, that Chriſtians were not required to reſt from bodily Labour on the *Sabbath*; nay, they who did ſo, were excommunicated as *Judaizers* by the Twenty-ninth Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*. The Obſervation of the *Sabbath* is commonly, and moſt probably, thought to have been continued by the Chriſtian Churches to gratify in this, as they did in many other indifferent Things, the *Jewiſh* Converts, who ſtill retained a great Veneration for the *Moſaic* Inſtitutions (1). Some Writers are of Opinion, and among the reſt *Albaſpinæus*, that the *Sabbath* was originally obſerved as a Feſtival by the *Latin* Churches, as well as by the *Greek*, even by that of *Rome* (2). However that be, it was certainly kept very early by the *Roman* Church as a Faſt, and her Example was, in Proceſs of Time, followed by all the Weſtern Churches. The Church of *Milan*, though ſo near to *Rome*, was one of the laſt that turned the Feſtival into a Faſt; for St. *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of that City, tells us, that, in his Time, not only the *Lord's Day*, but every *Sabbath*,

(1) See Cave, Prim. Chriſt. I. i. c. 7.

(2) Albaſpin. Obſervat. l. i. c. 13.

II. They cut off the First Week of *Lent*, indulging themselves in that Week in the Use of Milk and Cheese (Z). III. They do not Year of Christ 867.

Sabbath, except the *great Sabbath* before *Easter*, was observed there, even in *Lent*, as a Festival (3). He did not, however, condemn the contrary Practice; for being consulted by St. *Austin* upon this particular Point, he told him, that he could give him no better Advice than to do as he himself did; for, when I am at *Rome*, said he, I fast on *Saturday* as they do at *Rome*; when I am here, I do not fast (4). In St. *Austin*'s Time, some pretended the Custom of fasting on *Saturdays* at *Rome* to have been introduced by St. *Peter*, who being to contend with *Simon* the Sorcerer on a *Sunday*, fasted the preceding Day; and having overcome him, continued ever afterwards, with the *Roman* Church, to fast on the same Day. But this Tradition was, as St. *Austin* informs us, looked upon in his Time, and very deservedly, as a mere Fable by some of the *Romans* themselves (5). However, it was alleged by *Ratramnus*, in his Answer to *Photius*'s Letter, to justify the *Roman* Practice. But neither he, nor *Æneas* Bishop of *Paris*, take any notice, in their Answers, of the Apostolic Canon, or of that of the Sixth Council.

(Z) There was anciently great Variety as to the Number of Weeks in the *Lent* Fast. Some Churches began it Six Weeks before *Easter*, some Seven, some Eight, some Nine, and some even Ten; and yet none of them hit on the precise Number of Forty Days. The Churches, that kept their Fast Six Weeks, excepted all *Sundays* out of it; and such as kept it Seven Weeks, excepted all *Saturdays*, but one, as well as *Sundays*. Thus they agreed in the Number of fasting Days, *viz.* Thirty-six, while they disagreed in the Number of Weeks. The Churches, that began their Fast Eight, Nine, and Ten Weeks before *Easter*, excepted so many Days, that their fasting Days did not exceed that Number. Pope *Gregory* the First, or, as others will have it, the Second of that Name, added to the Thirty-six Days of the Six Weeks *Wednesday*, and the Three following Days of the Seventh, to make them completely Forty. Of this Addition Notice is taken by *Ratramnus* in his Answer to *Photius*; and he concludes from thence, that the *quadragesimal* Fast is observed more exactly in the *Roman* Church than it is in that of *Constantinople*. I cannot help observing here, that neither the *Lent* Fast, nor any other, anciently consisted, as it does now in the Church of *Rome*, in a Change of Diet from Flesh to Fish, but in a total Abstinence from Food till Evening; and they then thought it indifferent whether they refreshed themselves with Fish, Flesh, or any other Food. Indeed Fasting, as it is commanded by the Church of *Rome*, is mere Mockery; for, according to their Casuists, no Drink breaks a Fast, be it Wine, be it Chocolate; so that a Man may drink as much Chocolate as he pleases, nay, and may get drunk with Wine, or any other Liquor, and yet fast as the Church commands; since he would in that Case, say they, break the Command of God against Drunkenness, but not the Law of the Church about Fasting (6). *Pasqualigus*, who has written most fully on this Subject, adds, that, *as it is not wholsome to drink without eating, you may eat* (Two Ounces of Bread, says *Escobar*) *when you drink, that not being forbidden, because it is taken by way of Medicine*; and for this Practice he quotes a great Number of Casuists (7). All are allowed a Collation in the Evening, and there is no certain Rule, says *Lessius*, for the Quantity of it (8). In short, Fasting in the Church of *Rome* consists merely in a Change of Food, or in an Abstinence from Flesh, and every thing that comes from Flesh; so that a Papist may in *Lent*, and on all other Fasts, riot upon Salmon, Sturgeon, and other such delicious Fish, may drink the richest Wines, and yet obey the Command of his Church, and earn Heaven by fasting. But should he taste any Flesh, however coarse, or the Liquor it was boiled in, or any *Lacticinia* or Milk-meats, he would disobey her Command; and her Commands are all no less binding, on Pain of Damnation, than those of the Decalogue.

(3) Ambros. de elem. & jejunio, c. 10. (4) August. ep. 86 & 118. (5) Aug. ep. 86. (6) Pasqualig. Praxis jejunii decis. 116. Escobar. Lessius, &c. (7) Ibid. decis. 119. (8) Less. Instruct. Sacerdot. l. vi. c. 2.

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allow their Priests to marry, and separate those from their Wives who were married before they entered into Orders; and to this Practice, adds *Photius*, it is owing that we see so many Children, but know nothing of their Fathers (A). IV. They anoint anew with the holy Chrism those who have been already anointed by Presbyters, pretending, that Bishops alone are authorized to perform that Ceremony (B). V. They teach, that the Holy Ghost proceeds not from the Father alone, but from the Father and the Son; and thus divide the undivided Deity into Two Principles. This, says *Photius*, is the most horrid Blasphemy that ever was, or ever can be uttered, not only against the Holy Ghost, but the whole Trinity, and alone deserves a Thousand Anathemas (C). VI. They raise Deacons to the Episcopal Dignity, without conferring upon them the Order of Priesthood. VII. In Imitation of the *Jews*, they consecrate a Lamb at *Easter*, and offer it on the Altar with the Body of the Lord (D). VIII. Their Clergy shave their Beards (E). These

(A) *It were to be wished*, says *Alvarus Pelagius*, Bishop of *Silva* in *Portugal* in the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century, *that the Clergy had never vowed Chastity, especially the Clergy of* Spain, *where the Sons of the Laity are not much more numerous than the Sons of the Clergy* (1).

(B) All Persons, Children as well as the Adult, were anciently anointed with the holy Unction, and received the Imposition of Hands, as soon as they were baptized; which Ceremony we now call Confirmation. In the *Roman* Church, several Unctions were used on that Occasion, *viz.* of the Forehead, of the Eyes, Nose, Mouth, and Ears. That of the Forehead, which was always attended with the Imposition of Hands, was reserved to the Bishop as his peculiar Office; but Presbyters were allowed to perform all the other Unctions, and, in most of the Eastern Churches, even that of the Forehead, and the Imposition of Hands, with the Permission of the Bishop. The Chrism, used in these Unctions, was a Mixture of Oil and Balsam, which the Bishop alone was allowed to consecrate, and it was always consecrated at *Easter*. When this Ceremony, which was originally but one of the Parts or Rites of the Sacrament of Baptism, began first to be used, is uncertain; but *Tertullian* and *Origen*, who flourished in the Third Century, are the first who speak of it. However, in the Church of *Rome* it is One of the Seven Sacraments, and is believed to be of divine Institution, and to imprint an indelible Character (2).

(C) This Point is the Subject of Three whole Books out of the Four that *Ratramnus* wrote in Answer to the Objections of *Photius*. The First consists of Passages from Scripture, and the other Two of Passages from the Fathers, to prove the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son.

(D) That such a gross Piece of Superstition as that of consecrating a Lamb at *Easter*, and eating the Flesh of it, once prevailed in the *Roman* Church, appears from *Walafridus Strabo*, who severely censures it (3); and likewise from the old *Ordo Romanus*, where a Form is set down for the Consecration of a Lamb at *Easter*. But as *Strabo* takes no notice of their offering it on the Altar with the Eucharist, that was probably an Aggravation of the Thing, and perhaps *putidum mendacium*, as Cardinal *Bona* calls it (4).

(E) The Clergy were forbidden, by the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, to let their Hair

(1) Alvar. de planctu Eccles. l. ii. art. 27. (2) Concil. Trid. de Sacram. can. 9.
(3) Strabo de reb. Eccles. c. 18. (4) Bona rer. Liturg. l. ii. c. 8.

Theſe were the chief Articles of the Charge brought by *Photius* againſt the *Roman* Church, in his Letter to the Eaſtern Biſhops; and, in the ſame Letter, he exhorts them to concur with him in reforming that Church, and to ſend their Deputies to aſſiſt, in their Name, if they cannot aſſiſt in Perſon, at the œcumenical Council that is appointed to meet for that Purpoſe. He tells them, that he has received a ſynodical Letter from *Italy*, filled with unheard-of Complaints from all Ranks of People againſt their Biſhop, whoſe Tyranny they can no longer bear; and therefore entreat him to deliver them from ſo galling a Yoke. In the Cloſe of his Letter, he exhorts the Patriarchs and Biſhops, to whom it was addreſſed, to receive the Seventh Council, that condemned, under his Uncle *Taraſius*, the Hereſy of the Iconoclaſts, and eſtabliſhed the oppoſite Doctrine. In his Letter, he takes notice of the Converſion of the *Bulgarians*, and likewiſe of the *Ruteni* or *Ruſſians*, ſtiling them a Nation that exceeds all other Nations in Slaughters and Cruelty (F).

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He exhorts the Eaſtern Biſhops to join him againſt the Pope.

The Pope, finding the *Roman* Church and his See thus attacked, applied to *Hincmar* and the other Metropolitans of *Charles*'s Kingdom, deſiring them to aſſemble their reſpective Suffragans to examine and anſwer, jointly with them, the Reproaches of *Photius*, levelled againſt all Churches that uſed the *Latin* Tongue, as well as

The Pope recurs to the Gallican *Biſhop for an Anſwer to the Reproaches of* Photius.

Hair grow long, or to ſhave their Beards, *Clericus nec comam nutriat, nec barbam radat.* As the contrary Cuſtom, with reſpect to the Beard, obtains in the *Latin* Church, and they will not allow any of their Practices to be contrary to the ancient Canons, but will have them all, however indifferent, to be pregnant with ſome Myſtery, *Bellarmine* pretends, that the Word *radat* ſhould be left out; and he reads the Canon thus; *Clericus nec comam nutriat, nec barbam*, a Clergyman ſhall neither let his Hair grow long nor his Bead (5). But that the other is the true Reading has been unanſwerably proved from the ancient Manuſcripts (6).

(F) In the Year 861, they over-ran many Provinces of the Empire, committing every-where moſt dreadful Ravages, and ſhocking Barbarities, and even laid Siege to *Conſtantinople* itſelf; but not ſucceeding in that Undertaking, which *Porphyrogennetus* aſcribes to the Prayers of *Photius*, they returned home, and, upon their Return, embraced the Chriſtian Religion, received a Biſhop, and of Enemies became Friends and Allies of the Empire. To what ſo ſudden a Change was owing in ſo cruel, ſo fierce, ſo inhuman a Nation, as *Porphyrogennetus* calls them, or by whoſe means it was brought about, neither he nor *Photius* has informed us. But they relapſed afterwards into Idolatry; for St. *Adelbertus*, who was ſent by *Otto* King of *Germany*, in 959, to preach the Goſpel to that People, found no other Chriſtian among them but *Helena* their Queen, who had been baptized at *Conſtantinople* in 954 (7).

(5) Bellarmin. de monach. l. ii. c. 40. ep. 24. & Spondan. epit. Baron. ad ann. 858. Muſcovit. p. 3. Curopalates, Zonar. &c.

(6) See Savaro not. in Sidonium, l. iv.

(7) Cedren. p. 636. Herbeſt. rer.

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the *Roman*, and to tranſmit their Anſwers to him g. The Biſhops met, in Compliance with the Deſire of the Pope; and having examined, with their Metropolitans, the Points in Diſpute, anſwered one by one the Objections of *Photius*. The Anſwers of the Biſhops of the Province of *Sens*, collected by *Æneas* Biſhop of *Paris*, have reached our Times; but thoſe of the Biſhops of the Province of *Reims*, collected by *Odo* Biſhop of *Beauvais*, are loſt. *Ratramnus*, one of the moſt learned Men of his Age, wrote on the ſame Subject, probably at the Deſire of the Biſhops; and his Performance, which is ſtill extant, far exceeds that of *Æneas*.

The Emperor Michael *murdered.*

In the mean time happened in the Eaſt an unexpected Change of Affairs both in the Church and the State: The Emperor *Michael* was murdered by his Guards, either at the Inſtigation of the Friends of *Baſilius*, or by a Decree of the Senate, ſays *Porphyrogennetus*, exculpating his Grandfather *Baſilius*. But the other *Byzantine* Hiſtorians, and among them *Leo Grammaticus* and *Symeon Logotheta*, tell us, that *Baſilius* being informed, that *Michael* deſigned to remove him out of the Way, and raiſe a Patrician, by Name *Baſiliſcianus*, to the Imperial Throne in his room, he reſolved to ſave his own Life at the Expence of the Emperor's; and that, entering accordingly his Room one Night while he was drunk and aſleep, he firſt cut off both his Hands as he held them up, and then diſpatched him with innumerable Wounds, after he had reigned Twenty-ſeven Years and Four Months. *Baſilius*, now ſole Maſter of the Empire, ordered *Photius* the very next Day to be confined to a Monaſtery; and having ſent for *Ignatius*, commanded Silence upon his appearing before him, beſtowed upon him the higheſt Commendations, and reſtored him to his See, Eleven Years after he had been driven with Violence from it h. *Nicetas* writes, that the Emperor depoſed *Photius* in a Council, which muſt have conſiſted of ſuch Biſhops only as happened then to be at *Conſtantinople*, ſince he was depoſed the very next Day after the Murder of his Collegue *Michael*. *Zonaras* and, long before him, *Leo Grammaticus*, *Symeon Logotheta*, and *George* the Monk, aſcribe the Depoſition of *Photius* to his having puſhed back *Baſilius* as he approached the Altar to receive the Euchariſt, telling him, that he could not adminiſter it to him, as his Hands were ſtill reeking with the Blood of his Benefactor. But of that no Notice is taken by *Porphyrogennetus*, more ancient than

Photius *depoſed, and* Ignatius *reſtored.*

g Nicol. ep. 70. apud Baron. ad ann. 867. n. 46, & ſeq. h Nicet. in vit. Ignat.

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any of thoſe Writers, nor by *Nicetas*, who was an Eye-witneſs of what he relates, and would ſcarce have ventured, how prejudiced ſoever againſt *Photius*, to paſs ſo remarkable a Circumſtance over in Silence. And truly that *Photius* was a Man to flatter Princes in their Wickedneſs, rather than to reprimand them, ſufficiently appears from the Letter he wrote to the Emperor *Michael* when he received the News of the Death of *Bardas*, murdered by his Order; for though he owed, as we have ſeen, his Promotion to *Bardas* alone, yet, in that Letter, he approved of his Murder, nay, and painted his deceaſed Friend and Benefactor as the moſt wicked of Men, and richly deſerving the Fate he had met with. Year of Chriſt 867.

Photius being driven from the Patriarchal Palace, the Emperor ſent the Governor *Bahanes* to him, with an Order to deliver up all the Writings he had taken with him. He pretended to have taken none; but, in the mean time, Word was brought to *Bahanes*, that his Domeſtics were juſt gone out with Seven Sacks full of Writings. Theſe *Bahanes* immediately ordered to be ſeized, and carried to the Emperor; who, upon opening them, found Two Books amongſt them with very rich Coverings, the one containing the Acts of the Council that had depoſed *Ignatius*, the other the Acts of that which had depoſed the Pope. The former was divided into Seven Seſſions, to each of which was prefixed ſome Repreſentation of *Ignatius* done by *Gregory* of *Syracuſe*, the moſt skilful Painter in Miniature of his Time. Before the Firſt Seſſion, he was repreſented dragged to the Council, and beaten by thoſe who dragged him, with the Word *the Devil* over his Head. Before the Second he was buffetted, ſpit upon, and otherwiſe inſulted by his Keepers; and the Inſcription was, *the Beginning of Sin.* In the Beginning of the Third, the Fourth, and the Fifth Seſſions, he was ſeen diveſted of his Patriarchal Robes, anathematized, and fettered like a common Malefactor, with the Mottoes, *the Son of Iniquity*; Simon *the Sorcerer*; *exalting himſelf above all that is called God.* Before the Sixth and the Seventh, he was drawn as condemned to Death, and carried to the Place of Execution, with the Inſcriptions, *the Abomination of Deſolation*; *the Antichriſt.* The other Book contained the Acts of the Council that depoſed the Pope, the Crimes that were laid to his Charge, with their Proofs, and the Sentence that was pronounced againſt him, with the forged Subſciptions mentioned above. Of theſe Books Two Copies were found, *Photius* intending to keep one for himſelf, and

The Papers of Photius *ſeized, and among them the Acts of his pretended Council.*

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to send the other to the Emperor *Lewis*, with many rich Presents, and a flattering Letter, which fell likewise into the Emperor's Hands, wherein he acquainted *Lewis* and his Wife *Ingelberga* with the Deposition of the Pope by an œcumenical Council, as he called it, and at the same time entreated them to drive him from *Rome*, in Compliance with the Decree of that Council [i]. These Books were, to the unspeakable Mortification of *Photius* and his Friends, publicly shewn by the Emperor to the Senate and the Clergy of *Constantinople*, and afterwards consigned to the Flames by Order of the Eighth General Council.

The Emperor acquaints the Pope with the Restoration of Ignatius.

Photius being thus driven from the Patriarchal See, and *Ignatius* reinstated in his former Dignity, the Emperor dispatched immediately *Basilius* the Protospatharius to acquaint the Pope therewith; and with him *John*, Metropolitan of *Sylæum*, was sent by *Ignatius*, and *Peter*, Metropolitan of *Sardis*, by *Photius*, the Emperor, who affected great Impartiality, allowing him to send one to plead his Cause at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See. But the Metropolitan of *Sardis* was shipwrecked in the Gulph of *Dalmatia*; and Pope *Nicholas* died before the Arrival of the other Two at *Rome*, bereaved by Death of the Satisfaction the Restoration of *Ignatius*, which he had laboured, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, to bring about, would have given him. The Envoys therefore delivered the Letters they were charged with to his Successor, who strove, as we shall see in the Sequel, with no less Zeal than his Predecessor had done, to bring this Affair to a happy Issue.

Contest between the Pope and the Gallican *Bishops, concerning the Ordination of* Wulfade, *and other Clerks.*

Besides this Dispute with *Photius* and his Partizans in the East, *Nicholas* was engaged, during the Two last Years of his Life, in a warm Contest with *Hincmar* and the other *Gallican* Bishops in the West, on the following Occasion: *Ebbo*, Archbishop of *Reims*, having sided with the Children of the Emperor *Lewis the Debonnaire* in their Rebellion against their Father, was, on that Account, deposed in a Council held at *Thionville* in 835, but, upon the Death of *Lewis*, restored to his See by the Emperor *Lotharius*, in a Council convened in 840 at *Ingelheim* on the *Rhine*. Upon his Restoration, he applied to Pope *Sergius* II. desiring to be reconciled to the Church by the Authority of his See. But the Pope only granted him Lay Communion, declaring him unworthy of communicating in the Quality of a Clergyman. He was, however, prevailed

[i] Nicet. in vit. Ignat.

upon

upon by the Emperor *Lotharius* to order his Cauſe to be examined anew; and *Guntbold* Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, and the other Biſhops of *Charles the Bald*'s Kingdom, met for that Purpoſe at *Paris* in 846. But *Ebbo* did not appear at that Council; and he was thereupon baniſhed the Dioceſe of *Reims* till his Cauſe was finally determined in a general Aſſembly [k]. Being thus obliged to quit his Dioceſe, he withdrew into *Germany*, where he was kindly received by King *Lewis*, and appointed Biſhop of *Hildeſheim* in the Country of the *Saxons*, that See happening to be then vacant. *Ebbo* had ordained ſome Clerks after his Depoſition in 835, and thoſe *Hincmar*, who ſucceeded him in 845 in the See of *Reims*, would not receive, alleging their Ordination to be null, as they had been ordained by one who was diveſted of all Epiſcopal Power and Authority. Hereupon the Clerks, among whom was *Wulfade*, who had been Preceptor to *Carloman* the Son of *Charles the Bald*, and was therefore greatly favoured by that King, applied to a Council that was held at *Soiſſons* in 853, and conſiſted of the Biſhops of Five Provinces, *Hincmar* preſiding at it, with the Archbiſhops *Venilo* of *Sens*, *Paul* of *Rouen*, and *Amauri* of *Tours*. But by that Council a Decree was iſſued, declaring the Ordination of thoſe Clerks to be null; and that Decree was, at the Requeſt of *Hincmar*, confirmed by Pope *Benedict*, the immediate Succeſſor of Pope *Nicholas*.

Year of Chriſt 867.

However, *Wulfade*, encouraged by *Charles* of *France*, who wanted to prefer him, appealed from the Judgment of the Council to that of the Apoſtolic See; and *Nicholas*, ever ready to countenance, right or wrong, all who had Recourſe to his See, not only received his Appeal, but having cauſed the Papers in the Archives of the *Roman* Church, relating to that Affair, to be examined, declared the Acts of the Council of *Soiſſons* to be uncanonical and null; and, at the ſame time, wrote to *Hincmar*, to *Herard* of *Tours*, and to all the Biſhops of *France* and *Neuſtria*, requiring them to reinſtate *Wulfade* and the other Clerks in their reſpective Degrees, or to examine their Cauſe anew in a general Aſſembly. He appointed the Time for the Meeting of that Aſſembly, *viz.* the 16th of *Auguſt* 866; and added in his Letter, that if any Difficulties aroſe, or the Clerks appealed to the holy See, they ſhould grant them Leave to come to *Rome*, and either come with them in Perſon, or ſend Deputies to act in their Names. The Pope's Deſign in this was, either to make

Wulfade *appeals to the Pope.*

[k] Flodoard. hiſt. Remenſ. l. iii. c. 2.

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the *Gallican* Biſhops reſtore *Wulfade* and the other Clerks in this Second Council, and thus reverſe the Judgment they themſelves had formerly given, or to have the Cauſe, if they confirmed their Firſt Judgment, removed to *Rome*, as he did not doubt but, in that Caſe, *Wulfade*, ſupported by the King, would appeal to the Apoſtolic See. But the *Gallican* Biſhops, appriſed of his Deſign, inſtead of annulling, confirmed the Judgment of the former Council, commended *Hincmar* for not reſtoring the depoſed Clerks after the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, as they had been depoſed by a Council; but added, that, by way of Favour, they might be reinſtated in their former Degrees, which they left, they ſaid, to the Pope, out of their great Regard to the See of St. *Peter*. This they notified to the Pope, aſſuring him, that they were ready to execute what his Holineſs ſhould ordain; but leſt he ſhould think, that they had revoked the Decree of the other Council, *Herard* of *Tours* declared, in the Name of all the Biſhops who were preſent, that they did not depart from the Judgment they had given, but only conſented, by a *merciful Charity*, to the Mitigation of a Sentence, which they had pronounced according to the Rigour of Juſtice, imitating therein the Fathers of *Nice*, who had received in like manner thoſe whom *Melitius* had ordained [1]. Many Letters paſſed, on this Occaſion, between the Pope and the *Gallican* Biſhops. The Pope pretended, that *Hincmar* had miſrepreſented the Proceedings of the Firſt Council of *Soiſſons* to his Predeceſſor *Benedict*, and ſurreptitiouſly obtained of him a Confirmation of the ſaid Council; complained of their not having tranſmitted to him a diſtinct and authentic Account of the Depoſition of *Ebbo*, and the controverted Ordination of *Wulfade* and the other Clerks; and required them to meet again, and inform him minutely of the Whole. They met accordingly at *Troyes*, on the 25th of *October* 867, and, in Compliance with the Pope's Requeſt, acquainted him, in their ſynodical Letter, with every Particular relating to the Depoſition of *Ebbo*, to his pretended Reſtoration, and the Ordination of *Wulfade* and the other Clerks, after his Depoſition. *Actard*, Biſhop of *Nantes*, was appointed by the Council to go with that Letter to *Rome*, and deliver it into the Pope's own Hands.

Council of Troyes.

Letter from the King to the Pope in favour of Wulfade.

But the King, *Charles* of *France*, obliged him to deliver it to him; and having opened and peruſed it, though ſealed with the Seals of Five Archbiſhops, he wrote another to the Pope more favourable to

[1] Nicol. ep. 58. Concil. t. 8. p. 830. 833.

Ebbo

Ebbo and to *Wulfade*, whom he had already named to the vacant See of *Bourges*; for, in that Letter, he assured his Holiness, that *Ebbo* had been preferred by the Emperor to the See of *Reims* merely in Consideration of his Merit, and that the People had received him with Joy; that, in the First Rebellion of the Children of *Lewis the Debonnaire*, his Conduct was that of a loyal Subject; but, being unluckily drawn into the Second by the Faction of *Lotharius*, he had publicly acknowleged his Fault in the Church of St. *Stephen* at *Metz*; that the Emperor had written to Pope *Gregory*, desiring him to confirm his Deposition, and the Pope had answered his Letter; but, as the Emperor kept the Contents of his Holiness's Letter secret, and did not name another to the See of *Reims*, it was highly probable that *Gregory* did not approve of the Deposition of *Ebbo*; that, upon the Death of the Emperor *Lewis*, he was acknowleged for lawful Bishop of *Reims* by all the Bishops subject to that See; that they all communicated with him, and such of them as had been ordained in his Absence, received from him, upon his Return, the Ring and the Crosier. From thence the King concludes *Wulfade* and the other Clerks to have been lawfully ordained, because ordained by a Metropolitan, who was acknowleged as such by all his Suffragans. In the Close of his Letter, the King excuses his having caused *Wulfade* to be consecrated Archbishop of *Bourges* before he received his Holiness's Answer; and demands the Pall for him. Year of Christ 867.

As the Pope had reproached *Hincmar*, in one of his Letters to him, as well as in that to the Bishops of the Council of *Soissons*, with Pride, with unfair Dealing, and want of the Respect and Submission that was due to the Apostolic See, he wrote, by *Actard*, a long Letter to clear himself from those Reproaches, and satisfy his Holiness, that, in this whole Affair, his Conduct had been intirely agreeable to the Canons and the known Laws of the Church. With these Letters *Actard* set out for *Rome* in the Beginning of *November*; but Pope *Nicholas* dying in the mean time, the Affair was finally determined, to the Satisfaction of both Parties, by his Successor, as we shall see in the Sequel. Hincmar's *Letter to the Pope.*

Nicholas died on the 13th of *November* 867, after he had governed the *Roman* Church Nine Years, Six Months, and Twenty Days. He was, without all Doubt, a Man of very uncommon Parts, and has by some been compared, nay, and equalled to *Leo* and to *Gregory*, as no less worthy of the Surname of *Great* than either of them. Nicholas *dies*. *His Character.*

Year of Christ 867.

them. His Ambition, at leaſt, did not fall ſhort of theirs; and, treading in their Footſteps, he made it his Study, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, to engroſs all Power to himſelf, to enſlave, in Defiance of the Councils and their Canons, all other Sees to his own, and exalt himſelf above all that is called God. He paid no greater Regard to Princes than to his Fellow-biſhops, *commanding Princes*, to uſe the Words of *Regino*, *as if he were their King*, *and Kings as if he were the ſole Monarch of the Univerſe*. Notice is likewiſe taken, by the *Bertinian* Annaliſt, of his writing to Princes, eſpecially to the *French* Kings, *in a haughty*, *imperious*, *and threatening Stile*, *and not with the Submiſſion*, *Deference*, *and Reſpect that his Predeceſſors had ever ſhewn them* [m]. Of this we have ſeen ſeveral Inſtances, to which I ſhall add one more from *Gratian*, quoting the following Words out of one of this inſolent Pope's Letters to King *Lotharius*; *We command thee by Apoſtolic Authority not to ſuffer any Biſhop to be choſen for* Treves *or* Cologne *before a Report be made to our Apoſtleſhip* [n]. *Nicholas*, ſo far as we can judge from his whole Conduct, had nothing ſo much at Heart as to vilify and depreciate the Authority of Princes, in order to raiſe his own above theirs, and the Church above the State; and it was, no doubt, with that View that he taught the infamous Doctrine, that *Subjection is not due to bad Princes*, and left every Biſhop to judge and determine whether the Prince was a good or a bad one, a lawful Prince or a Tyrant; a Doctrine that, ſhould it ever prevail, would involve all Kingdoms in endleſs Rebellions, and fill them with Blood and Slaughter. But how great ſoever his Demerit was in other Reſpects, he certainly deſerved well of the Apoſtolic See; and his Succeſſors in that See have accordingly honoured him with the greateſt Mark of Diſtinction in their Power, that of Saintſhip. Indeed, that he was received into Heaven among the Saints of the Firſt Claſs, was atteſted by an Eye-witneſs, *viz.* by *John* the Deacon, to whom he appeared in the Company of *Gregory the Great*, ſurrounded with the ſame Glory as that renowned Pontiff.

His Charity, Munificence, &c.

Nicholas is commended by *Anaſtaſius* for his Charity to the Poor, of whom he kept a Liſt, ſending a daily Supply of Proviſions to all the Blind, the Lame, and the Infirm, in the different Quarters of the City, and giving Tickets to thoſe who could walk, to ſome for one Day, to others for another; ſo that they were all, in their Turn,

[m] Bertin. annal. ad ann. 865. [n] Gratian. diſtinct. lxiii. c. 4.

plenti-

plentifully fed by him once a Week [o]. He made many rich Presents to the Churches of *Rome*, especially to that of St. *Peter*, of which the Reader will find an Inventory in the Bibliothecarian. As to his public Works, he repaired an Aqueduct that conveyed Water to the *Vatican* Basilic, and rebuilt the City of *Ostia*, strengthening it with new Works against any sudden Attack of the *Saracens*, who continued to infest that Coast [p]. Year of Christ 867.

Of this Pope we have near an Hundred Letters; but of many of them I have already given the Contents in speaking of the Subjects to which they related; and shall only take notice here of such of the rest as may serve to acquaint us with the Doctrines, the Practices, and the ecclesiastical Discipline of those Times. Amongst these, the most remarkable is that which *Nicholas* wrote in 866 in Answer to the Questions, Doubts, or Consultations of the *Bulgarians*, converted Five Years before to the Christian Religion (E). It contains no fewer than *His Writings*

[o] Anast. in Nicol. [p] Idem ibid.

(E) The *Bulgarians*, a fierce and warlike Nation, came originally from the Country bordering on the *Palus Mœotis*, were converted to the Christian Religion in 861, on the following Occasion: In an Irruption they had made a few Years before into the Empire, the Sister of *Bogoris* their King was taken, and carried, with the other Captives, to *Constantinople*. The King, who tenderly loved her, was greatly affected with her unhappy Fate; but it proved, in the End, the Source of the greatest Happiness that could befal him and his People: For the Princess, having embraced the Christian Religion during her Captivity, and being soon after exchanged for one *Theodore Cuphara*, said to have been a Man of great Learning, she undertook, upon her Return home, to gain over the King her Brother to the same Faith, representing to him, on all Occasions, the Greatness and the Power of the God of the Christians, as well as the Vanity of his Idols, and exhorting him to banish them, and adore one God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and the only true God, in their room. The King hearkened to her; but his Attachment to the Religion and the Gods of his Ancestors was Proof against all her Reasons, Remonstrances, and Exhortations, till Providence interposed in a special Manner: A dreadful Famine began to rage all over the Land, and was soon followed by a more dreadful Plague, that swept off daily many Thousands. These Calamities the pious Princess looked upon as sent by Heaven to second her Endeavours; and therefore renewing her Exhortations with more Zeal than ever, she prevailed on the King at last to apply for Relief to the God of the Christians. He soon felt the good Effect of this Application; the Plague ceased; and the King, sensible to whom he was indebted for so quick a Deliverance, dispatched Ambassadors to *Constantinople* for proper Persons to instruct and baptize him and his People; and he was accordingly instructed and baptized, with many of his Subjects, by Missionaries sent from thence. Such is the Account *Porphyrogennetus* gives us of the Conversion of the *Bulgarians* (1); and his Account has been copied by *Zonaras*, *Curopalates*, and *Cedrenus*. But *Symeon Logotheta*, taking no notice of the King's Sister, tells us, that the Emperor *Michael* having made great Preparations by Sea and Land to fall upon the *Bulgarians*, *Gibores* their King (for so he calls him) alarmed thereat, as he was not in a Condition to withstand so great a Force, a dreadful Famine raging at that time in his Kingdom, sent Ambassadors to the

(1) Porphyr. in Vit. Michael.

Year of Christ 867.

His Answer to the Consultations of the Bulgarians.

than 105 Articles; for so many were the Questions proposed by the *Bulgarians*, or rather by their King; and it deserves the Name of a Work rather than a Letter. The chief Questions, and the Answers to them, are as follows: Such of the *Bulgarians* as had not embraced the Emperor, to let him know, that he and his People were desirous to embrace the Christian Religion, and become Subjects of the *Roman* Empire; that *Michael*, transported with Joy at so unexpected a Message, invited the King to *Constantinople*; and that he was there baptized, taking at his Baptism the Name of the Emperor (2). *Bogoris*, or, as I shall henceforth call him, *Michael*, was, it seems, baptized by *Photius*, for he possessed at this time the See of *Constantinople*; and in a Letter he wrote to the King upon *the Duty of a Prince*, the completest Piece of the Kind that is extant, he sometimes stiles him *his beloved Son*, and sometimes *his spiritual Son* (3).

The *Bulgarians*, highly provoked at their King's forsaking the Religion of his Ancestors, rose up in Arms, with a Design to drive him from the Throne. But he, taking the Cross for his Standard, or wearing it, as *Logotheta* says, on his Breast, marched out against them, and having, with a small Number of Men, intirely defeated the numerous Army of the Rebels, he resolved to bring the whole Nation over to the Religion he professed. The Emperor sent *Constantine*, surnamed *the Philosopher*, and known afterwards by the Name of *Cyrill*, to instruct them; and by him great Numbers were baptized. But *Constantine* being invited by *Rassilaus*, Prince of *Moravia*, to preach the Gospel to his People, the King of the *Bulgarians* resolved, upon his Departure, to apply to the Pope for proper Persons to instruct the rest of the Nation. For that Purpose he sent, in 866, his own Son to *Rome*, attended by a great Number of the chief Lords of the Kingdom, with many rich Presents for St. *Peter*, among which was the Armour he wore when he defeated his rebellious Subjects. The Ambassadors were ordered to consult the Pope about several Doubts or Questions relating to religious Matters; and it was in Answer to these Consultations that he wrote the present Letter. *Nicholas* was overjoyed at the News of the Conversion of so numerous a Nation, and, perhaps, more at their chusing to recur to him rather than to his Rival the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to have their Doubts solved, and Missionaries sent to instruct them. He received, therefore, and treated the Ambassadors with the greatest Marks of Kindness and Distinction; answered their Consultations in Writing, even the most trifling, for such were many of them; and sent back with them the Bishops *Paul* of *Populonia*, and *Formosus* of *Porto*, both renowned for their Sanctity (4). The King applied at the same time to *Lewis* King of *Germany*, with whom he lived in Peace and Amity, desiring that Prince to send him Priests, and a Bishop to assist and direct them. *Lewis*, in Compliance with his Request, appointed *Ermenric* Bishop, with several Priests and Deacons, for that Mission; but left his Brother *Charles* of *France* to supply them with sacred Vessels, Books, Vestments, &c. and by him they were supplied with them accordingly, but at the Expence of the Bishops of his Kingdom, upon whom he levied a considerable Sum for that Purpose (5). *Ermenric* arrived in *Bulgaria*, with his Troop of Missionaries; but finding there the two above-mentioned Bishops, and other Missionaries come with them from *Rome*, he thought it adviseable to return home, lest he should give Umbrage to them, and to the Pope who had sent them. The *Bertinian* Annalist adds, that the Emperor *Lewis*, hearing of the Armour and other rich Offerings made by the King of the *Bulgarians* to St. *Peter*, sent to the Pope, *commanding* him, *jubemus*, to transmit them to him; that the Pope thereupon sent him Part of the said Offerings by *Arsenius*, and begged him to excuse his not sending the rest (6).

(2) Sym. Logoth. ad ann. 4. Mich. vit. SS. Cyril. & Method. Anast. in Nicol. Bertin. Fuldens. Anast. in Nicol. (3) Phot. ep. 1. (4) Auct. anonym. Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 861. (5) Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 866. (6) Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 866.

Year of Chriſt 867.

Chriſtianity, provoked at the King's introducing a new Religion among them, roſe in Rebellion againſt him, with a Deſign to put him to Death, and place another on the Throne in his room. But the King having gained a complete Victory over them, and put to Death all the Grandees, as well as their innocent Children, but pardoned all the reſt, he wanted to know, whether he had been therein guilty of any Sin. The Pope anſwered, that he had undoubtedly ſinned in putting the Children to Death, who had no Share in the Guilt of their Fathers; and that he ſhould have ſpared all who fell not in Battle; but, as he had committed thoſe Murders out of Ignorance, or *Zeal for Religion*, he might obtain Pardon by performing Penance. To murder the Innocent out of Zeal for Religion, was, it ſeems, in the Opinion of Pope *Nicholas* an Alleviation of that Crime; and we ſhall ſee, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, the Slaying of Thouſands and Ten Thouſands, the Extirpating of whole Nations commended, nay, and commanded, by his Succeſſors, as highly meritorious. *Nicholas* himſelf approved and applauded one of the moſt bloody Maſſacres we read of in Hiſtory: For what Encomiums does he not beſtow in one of his Letters upon the Empreſs *Theodora*, Mother to the Emperor *Michael*[q]? He extols her as one of the moſt pious, moſt religious, and truly Catholic Princeſſes that ever ſwayed a Scepter. What *Theodora* had done to deſerve ſuch high Commendations, *Porphyrogennetus* informs us in the following Words: *Theodora*, ſays he, *reſolved to bring the* Paulicians (a Sect of Heretics) *to the true Faith, or cut them all off Root and Branch.* A Reſolution worthy of a truly Catholic Princeſs! *Purſuant to that Reſolution, ſhe ſent ſome Noblemen and Magiſtrates*, not Preachers or Miſſionaries, *into the different Provinces of the Empire; and by them ſome of thoſe unhappy Wretches were crucified, ſome put to the Sword, and ſome thrown into the Sea, and drowned Thus were they ſlaughtered to the Number of One hundred thouſand, and their Goods and Eſtates confiſcated*[r] And to this bloody Maſſacre the Pope alluded in commending *Theodora* for the *manly Vigour ſhe exerted, the Lord co-operating*, Domino cooperante, as he blaſphemouſly adds, *againſt obſtinate and incorrigible Heretics. Nicholas* adds in the ſame Letter, that the Heretics, experiencing in her all the Reſolution and Vigour of a Man, could ſcarce believe her to be a Woman. Indeed *Zeal for Religion* had changed in her, as it did in

Deciſions relating to ſeveral Points.

[q] Nicol. ep. 14. [r] Porphyr. in vit. Mich.

our

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our Queen *Mary*, the tender and compaſſionate Heart of a Woman into that of mercileſs and blood-thirſty Tyrant. And here I cannot help obſerving, that, from the Pope's own Words, it appears, that the Apoſtolic See had its Share in the glorious Exploit ſpoken of above; for the Pope, after telling her, that the Heretics dreaded, and at the ſame time admired, her Reſolution and Steadineſs in maintaining the Purity of the Catholic Faith, adds, *and why ſo, but becauſe you followed the Documents of the Apoſtolic See?*

His Doctrine concerning the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm.

A *Greek*, pretending to be a Prieſt, had adminiſtered to many the Sacrament of Baptiſm; and the *Bulgarians*, diſcovering the Impoſture, had condemned the Impoſtor to have his Noſe and Ears cut off, to be publicly whipped, and had baniſhed him the Country. This Piece of Cruelty the Pope did not approve, and therefore told the *Bulgarians*, conſulting him about it, that their Zeal was not according to Knowlege; that Baniſhment was a ſufficient Puniſhment; that the Validity of Baptiſm did not depend upon the Virtue of the Miniſter; and conſequently that they, whom the *Greek* had baptized, muſt not be re-baptized, provided he had adminiſtered that Sacrament in the Name of the Trinity (F).

How Apoſtates to be dealt with.

As ſome of the *Bulgarians*, after embracing the Chriſtian Religion, had relapſed into Idolatry, they wanted to know how ſuch Apoſtates ſhould be dealt with. To that Queſtion the Pope anſwered, that they ſhould firſt be admoniſhed by their Godfathers; that, if they did not hear them, it ſhould be told to the Church; and, if

(F) Pope *Nicholas* required no more. But the Council of *Trent* makes the Intention of the Prieſt neceſſary (1) in the Adminiſtration of Sacraments; ſo that, unleſs the Prieſt intends to baptize, the Child is not baptized, nor is any other ſacred Office performed, as I have obſerved elſewhere. And who can anſwer for the Intention of a Man, whoſe Thoughts may eaſily wander from the Buſineſs he is engaged in? The Pope returned the ſame Anſwer to the *Bulgarians*, conſulting him, whether they ſhould be re-baptized whom a *Jew* had baptized, *viz.* that they ſhould not, if he had baptized in the Name of the Trinity; and he could not ſuppoſe the *Jew* to have had the Intention required by the Council of *Trent*, that of adminiſtering a Sacrament.—The Doctrine here defined by Pope *Nicholas*, *viz.* that Baptiſm adminiſtered by a *Jew*, and conſequently by a Pagan or an Infidel, is valid, and ought not to be reiterated, has been, ever ſince his Time, the received Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* (2). But, among the *Latins*, *Jerom* looked upon it as a ſtrange Paradox, that a Man ſhould be made a Chriſtian by one, who was himſelf no Chriſtian (3); and ſo did *Nicephorus* among the *Greeks*, declaring, that no Man can baptize others, who is not firſt baptized himſelf (4).

(1) Concil. Trid. ſeſſ. 7. can. 11. (2) Ordo Roman. p. 15. Eugen. decret. ad Armenos. Concil. l. xiii. p. 535. (3) Hier. dial. adv. Luciferianos, c. 5. (4) Niceph. hiſt. l. xi. c. 11.

they

they neglected to hear the Church, they ſhould be looked upon as Heathens, and beſides, be puniſhed by the ſecular Power. However, he was againſt their uſing any Violence or Compulſion with ſuch as never had embraced the Chriſtian Faith; a Principle which, had it been adopted by his Succeſſors, would have ſaved the Lives, I might perhaps ſay, of Millions. Year of Chriſt 867.

As Self-murder was not, it ſeems, an uncommon Thing amongſt the *Bulgarians*, the Pope allowed them to inter ſuch as were guilty of that Crime, leſt the uninterred Bodies ſhould produce an Infection; but forbid any Prayers to be ſaid, or any Oblations to be made for the Redemption of their Souls. It is obſerveable, that the Council of *Braga* ordered thoſe, who ſuffered for their Crimes, to be treated in the ſame manner, as being acceſſory to their own Death[s], and in that Senſe Suicides. The reſt of the Pope's Letter relates to the Feaſts and Faſts of the Church, and the Manner of obſerving them; to the Ceremonies of Marriage; to ſeveral ſuperſtitious Practices and indifferent Cuſtoms that obtained among them. He forbids them to eat the Fleſh of Animals killed or hunted by the Pagans, or to make any Treaties with them, unleſs it be to gain them over to the true Faith; to ſwear upon their Swords, or in the Name of any Creature; to take from the Churches ſuch Criminals as have fled thither for Refuge; to wear their Turbans in the Church; to have any Commerce with their Wives during *Lent*, or on *Sundays*, or while they ſuckle, *&c.* The Pope cloſes his Letter with exhorting the *Bulgarians* and their King to have Recourſe, in all their Doubts, to the *Roman* Church, the Head of all Churches, that has never deviated from the true Faith, and is ever ready to inſtruct all who apply to her for Inſtruction. *Of Suicides, &c.*

In a Letter he wrote to *Rodulph* Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, he declares the Chorepiſcopi (G) to have the Power of performing Epiſcopal *His Letter to the Archbiſhop of* Bourges *concerning the* Chorepiſcopi

[s] Concil. Bracar. 1. c. 34.

(G) As Biſhops were allowed, when diſabled by Age or Infirmities, to ordain themſelves Coadjutors, ſo were they permitted, in extenſive and populous Dioceſes, to ordain *Chorepiſcopi*, that is, as the *Greek* Word imports, Country-Biſhops, to aſſiſt them in the Country. The Chorepiſcopi were, according to the moſt probable Opinion, real Biſhops; and it was their Province to preſide over the Country Clergy, to inſpect their Conduct, and acquaint the City-Biſhop therewith. As they were true Biſhops, they were veſted with all Epiſcopal Power; but limited as to the Exerciſe of that Power. Thus, though they might confer the inferior Orders without the Conſent, or even the Knowlege of the City-Biſhop, they were not authorized to ordain, without his Leave, either Prieſts or Deacons. Pope *Nicholas*, in a Letter

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'copal Functions, as they were created in Imitation of the Seventy Diſciples, who were veſted with that Power; and conſequently the Ordination of Prieſts and Deacons made by them to be valid. He adds, that they are forbidden by the Canons to perform ſuch Functions; and commands thoſe Canons to be obſerved in Time to come. In the ſame Letter, he will have thoſe who kill their Wives, if they are not taken in Adultery, to undergo the Penance impoſed by the Church on Murderers.

Penance injoined by Nicholas *on a Father, who had murdered his Three Children.*

In a Letter to a Biſhop named *Ronolard*, he acquaints him with the Penance he had impoſed upon a Father, who, having murdered his Three Children, came to *Rome* to be abſolved by his Apoſtleſhip from ſo heinous a Crime. The Penance he injoined was, that, for the Three firſt Years (for his Penance was to laſt Twelve) he ſhould not be admitted into the Church, but pray at the Door; that, during the next Four, he ſhould remain amongſt the Hearers; ſhould in theſe Seven Years be excluded from the Euchariſt, ſhould drink no Wine, except on *Sundays* and Holidays, and abſtain from Fleſh ſo long as he lived; that, in the Three laſt Years of his Penance, he ſhould drink no Wine Three Days in the Week, ſhould go bare-footed, and never bear Arms, except againſt the Pagans. However, the Pope allowed him to eat Cheeſe, to keep his Eſtate, and to cohabit with his Wife, leſt, ſays the Pope, he ſhould fall into the Sin of Adultery, and thus, while he atones for one Crime, run headlong into a

to *Harduic* Archbiſhop of *Beſançon*, tells him, that the Chorepiſcopi are not only forbidden to ordain Prieſts or Deacons, but to conſecrate Churches, and even to adminiſter Confirmation to Children (1). However they were allowed to ſit and vote in Councils; and the Decrees of the Firſt Council of *Nice* were ſigned by no fewer than Fifteen of that Order. As the Chorepiſcopi were ordained by one Biſhop only, the Biſhop of the City to whoſe Juriſdiction they belonged, the Validity of their Ordination began in After-ages to be queſtioned; and, by a Council held at *Ratiſbon* in 803, Three Decrees were iſſued relating to them, under the Name of *Village Biſhops*, *villanos Epiſcopos*. By the Firſt it was enacted, that they ſhould thenceforth perform no Epiſcopal Functions: By the Second, that no Chorepiſcopi ſhould be ordained in Time to come: And by the Third their Acts were all declared null, and they placed among the Preſbyters. Theſe Decrees were confirmed by Pope *Leo* III. (2); but nevertheleſs that Order was not yet intirely ſuppreſſed in the Time of Pope *Nicholas*, as appears from the Letter of that Pope now before us. To *Baronius* and *Bellarmine* I ſhall leave the Taſk of reconciling the Decrees of *Ratiſbon*, placing the Chorepiſcopi among the Preſbyters, and declaring all their Acts to be null, which Decrees *Leo* confirmed, with the Decretal of Pope *Nicholas*, defining the ſame Chorepiſcopi to be veſted with Epiſcopal Power, and the Ordination even of Prieſts and Deacons by them to be valid.

(1) Dacheri ſpicileg. t. 12. (2) Lall. t. 7. Concil. p. 1152.

greater [t]. So that the Murder of Three Children by their own Father was, in the Opinion of Pope *Nicholas*, a leſs heinous Crime than Adultery. Indeed, the Civil Law makes Adultery a capital Crime as well as Murder; and as ſuch it was puniſhed under the Pagan Emperors as well as the Chriſtian; nay, *Conſtans*, the Son of *Conſtantine*, appointed the ſame Puniſhment to be inflicted upon Adulterers as upon Parricides; and theſe were either burnt alive, or drowned in a Sack, with a Snake, an Ape, a Cock, and a Dog, tied up with them. Year of Chriſt 867.

I ſhall add here the Account we read in *Anaſtaſius* of the Quarrel between this Pope and *John* Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, as we know not preciſely in what Year it happened: *John* acting, according to the Bibliothecarian, more like a lawleſs Tyrant than a Biſhop, had excommunicated ſeveral Perſons without juſt Cauſe, and ſeized on their Eſtates; had poſſeſſed himſelf of Lands belonging to the *Roman* See, and annexed them to his own; had arbitrarily, and without any Regard to the Canons, depoſed, impriſoned, and confined in Dungeons Presbyters and Deacons, not only of his own Dioceſe, but of the Province of *Æmilia*, under the immediate Juriſdiction of the Apoſtolic See; and, what was ſtill worſe, diverted devout People from taking Pilgrimages to the Tombs of the holy Apoſtles; nay, and pretended, that the Pope had no Power to ſummon him to *Rome*. This *Nicholas* could not bear; and therefore, after citing him Three times to a Council, which he had appointed to meet at *Rome*, he pronounced in that Council, upon his not appearing, the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him. But the Archbiſhop, not intimidated in the leaſt at that Sentence, reſolved to maintain, even at *Rome*, the Independency of his See; and he ſet out accordingly for that City, in Company of ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, whom the Emperor *Lewis* had appointed to attend him in the Character of his Envoys, and countenance him on his Arrival there. But the Pope having gained over the Envoys, and at the ſame time ſent an Order to the Archbiſhop to appear on the Firſt of *November* before the Council that had excommunicated him, and there give an Account of his Conduct, he left *Rome*, paying no kind of Regard to that Order, and returned to his See. His Return alarmed the Inhabitants of *Ravenna*; and Perſons of the Firſt Diſtinction in that City, as well as in the Province of *Æmilia*, flew to *Rome*, attended by Crowds of People,

[t] Apud Iron. par. 10. c. 33.

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to lay their Grievances before the Pope: They even entreated him to visit that unhappy City and Diocese in Person, in order to satisfy himself that the Calamities they complained of were not exaggerated, and at the same time to redeem them, with his Presence, from the insufferable Oppression they groaned under. The Pope, touched with Compassion, complied with their Request; and being informed upon the Spot of the Tyranny and Rapines of the Archbishop and his Brother *Gregory*, he restored to every Man his own, and issued a Decree confirming what he had done. The Archbishop did not wait the Arrival of the Pope; but, hearing of his Approach, fled in great Haste to *Pavia*, to implore the Protection of the Emperor, who resided there; but, to his great Mortification, *Luithard*, Bishop of that City, and the Inhabitants, hearing that he was excommunicated, would not admit him into their Houses, would not allow any thing to be sold to him or his Attendants, nor would they so much as speak to him, or to them; nay, they pointed at them in the public Streets, as Men whom they were to avoid on Pain of being excommunicated, and shunned by all as well as they, The Treatment the Archbishop met with from the Emperor was not less mortifying; for *Lewis*, refusing to admit him to his Presence, sent him the following Message; *Let him go and humble himself before so great a Pope, to whom we and the whole Church submit; for he can no otherwise obtain what he desires*, meaning, I suppose, his Favour and Protection. How the Emperor *submitted to so great a Pope* when he disapproved of his Conduct, or when the Pope did not comply with his Demands, we have seen above [u]. The Archbishop, finding himself thus abandoned to the Mercy of the Pope, resolved in the end to satisfy him, in Compliance with the Desire of the Emperor; and with that View he set out for *Rome*, the Emperor having, at his earnest Request, appointed Envoys to attend him thither. The Envoys were kindly received by the Pope; but, upon their recommending the Archbishop to him in their Master's Name, he told them, that if his beloved Son the Emperor were well informed of his whole Conduct, far from recommending or screening him, he would himself have sent him to the Apostolic See for Correction. The Pope paid more Regard to the Tears and Prayers of the Archbishop than to the Intercession of the Envoys; for *John* submitted in the end, finding himself forsaken by all, expressed great Contri-

[u] See above, p. 297.

tion

tion for his paſt Offences; and appearing before a Council aſſembled by the Pope on that Occaſion, he there wrote the Act of Submiſſion, which the Popes exacted from the Archbiſhops of *Ravenna* at the Time of their Ordination, but both he and his Predeceſſor *Felix* had falſified, read it in the Hearing of the whole Aſſembly, and ſwore, upon the Croſs and the Goſpel, to conform to it in Time to come. The next Day *John* appeared again before the Council, and having cleared himſelf from the Crime of Hereſy, for that Crime too was laid to his Charge, the Pope abſolved him from the Excommunication, gave him leave to ſay Maſs, and the Third Day allowed him to take his Seat in the Council. But a Petition being preſented to the Council by the Biſhops of *Æmilia*, and the Inhabitants of *Ravenna*, complaining of *John*'s Extortions and Tyranny, a Decree was drawn up by the Council, in the Pope's Name, to reſtrain him from thus abuſing his Authority, and addreſſed to him in the following Words: "We command you, Archbiſhop *John*, to come "once a Year to *Rome*, if you are not prevented by Sickneſs, or "excuſed from it by the Apoſtolic See. You ſhall conſecrate no "Biſhops in the Province of *Æmilia* till they have been elected "by the Duke, the Clergy, and the People, and you have obtained "leave to conſecrate them from him who ſhall preſide in the holy "See; nor ſhall you hinder them from coming, as often as they "ſhall think fit, to *Rome*. You ſhall exact nothing from them "contrary to the authorized Cuſtom, to the Canons, or the Privi-"leges of Biſhops. You ſhall not appropriate to yourſelf what an-"other Man poſſeſſes, till it has been legally adjudged to you at "*Ravenna*, in our Preſence, or in the Preſence of our Deputies and "yours [w]." And thus was at laſt the See of *Ravenna* intirely ſubjected to that of *Rome* (G).

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The See of Ravenna *intirely ſubjected to that* Of *of* Rome.

[w] Anaſt. in Nicol.

(G) Of this Quarrel between *John* of *Ravenna* and Pope *Nicholas* we read a very different Account in an anonymous Author, who is ſuppoſed to have lived in or near thoſe Times; for he tells us, that the Pope, jealous of the Archbiſhop's Intimacy with the Emperor *Lewis*, ſummoned him to *Rome*, to give an Account of his Conduct, which ſome had impeached; that the Pope having excommunicated him upon his not obeying the Summons, the Emperor, who had eſpouſed his Cauſe, highly reſented it, ſeized on the Patrimonies of the *Roman* Church in *Romagna* and the neighbouring Provinces, and even went in Perſon with the Archbiſhop to *Rome*, where great Diſorders were committed by his Followers, *&c.* and that the Pope was in the end obliged to yield. But as no Notice is taken by the other contemporary Writers of any Diſagreement on this Occaſion between the Pope and the Emperor, nor of the Emperor's Journey to *Rome*, *&c.* nay, as the ſuppoſed contemporary Author contradicts,

Of the Diſpute that aroſe in the Time of Pope *Nicholas* about the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and the Manner of his being preſent there, I ſhall ſpeak, when the Popes begin to take part in that Controverſy.

dicts, in many Particulars, the Hiſtorians, who undoubtedly flouriſhed in thoſe Times, we may well conclude the Piece aſcribed to a contemporary Writer to be of a much later Date, and in all likelihood ſuppoſititious.

The Hiſtory of the Popes by *Anaſtaſius* the Bibliothecarian ends at the Death of this Pope. The Life of his Succeſſor *Hadrian* II. was written by *Gullielmus* likewiſe Bibliothecarian, and that too of *Stephen* V. or, as others will have it, VI.

The End of the Fourth VOLUME.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM